General discussion on the Budget.—(*cont.*)

President.—The morning sitting will be devoted to the speeches of the non-officials and the afternoon session for the speeches of the officials.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Sir, on behalf of the Progressive Party, whose leader I happen to be, I think it my first and foremost duty to express our heartfelt feelings of gratitude to our beloved Maharaja in that He has been pleased to confer a boon to this House—the right to elect its own Deputy President. The Legislative Council is itself a Royal boon and the fact that our beloved Maharaja has been taking a very lively and sympathetic interest in this institution has also to be considered, in connection with this Royal boon which is a distinct progressive step towards responsible Government. In the speech that your predecessor-in-office made, as reported in Volume III, part 26, on page 1907, he said:—"I think I will be erring only on the safe side, if I say that we must wait for ten years, if not more, for the responsible authorities in taking stock of our achievements and for deciding what further powers, if any, we should be entrusted with." These observations were made in connection with some of the urgent proposals made by the Progressive Party, which are referred to on page 1904 of the report:—"Every member must be given the right of putting supplementary questions and not alone the member who put the main question; the Deputy President's place should be thrown open to election by the non-official members; the Diwan is not to be the President of the Council and the President should be a non-official elected Member; the Executive must be responsible to the Legislature; an Executive Council consisting of official and non-official Members must be brought into existence for carrying on the State Administration; a Government of Cochin Act on the lines of the Government of India Act should be enacted". Now, this boon that has been now conferred, in the face of these outstanding pronouncements of the previous President, is all the more precious to us. His Imperial Majesty, King Edward VII, of revered memory, is reported to have said, in an ecstatic mood of democratic fervour, "who would be a King if he could be a cobbler". That spirit of democracy has been pervading Great Britain and Great Britain has been acting up to that spirit, and I am delighted to find that our beloved Maharaja has also been inspired by similar democratic sentiments. The Diwan-President has referred to it in the speech that I just referred to:—"What I wish to point out is that His Highness the Maharaja had no hesitation to confer large powers at the very inception and it does not appear necessary that further

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powers should be agitated for in regard to a ruler who has all along identified himself with the alms and aspirations of his numerous loving subjects." With a mentality of that description permeating the mind of our beloved Maharaja, it was an irony of fate that, the Poojari should have stood in the way of the benefaction of the God. It is no wonder. The ravages of time, especially upon the hard-worked officers, are inexorable. The attempt made by Cochin during the last six or 7 years to carry on the administration through superannuated, worn-out veterans has been mainly responsible for this-misfortune. It is indeed a matter of very great gratification to us that, hailing from the land of liberty, the cradle of freedom, and with a Government which has been always doing its very best to support the rights of weaker nations, you should have found it proper, considering the previous record of this august Assembly, to try to secure this privilege to us even this year. We are, therefore, grateful to the Diwan-President and particularly thankful to our beloved Maharaja in that one of these pressing demands of the Progressive Party has been conceded to us.

Now the fact that old bottles cannot contain new wine and that new wine should notbe poured into old bottles is a matter of familiar knowledge. We are not, speaking impartially, opposed to the appointment of superannuated officers in special cases. But the attempt that has been made ruthlessly to carry on the administration of the State through these worn-out veterans has been most disparaging and pregnant with disastrous results so much so that His Excellency the Viceroy had to draw attention to it. Now, Sir, your appointment as Diwan and your conduct as President of this Council have been a great solace to us in that the old order of things has changed yielding place to new. Cochin always is for carrying on its administration through its own people. Cochin for Cochinites is our cry. We are not contending that each and every appointment should be conferred upon Cochinites irrespective of merits. We are not opposed to foreign Diwans either, when necessity arises. All that we say is that we are not going to be spoonfed for all the time. Considering the high percentage of literacy and the high level of culture in this land, it is only in the fitness of things that our own men should be appointed to most of the important offices of the State. It is with that object that we have been insisting on the appointment of our own men and the due promotion of our own men. Whether it be that the process of ripening is slower in foreign States than in the Cochin State or whether it be that distance lends enchantment to the view and places a halo of greatness around foreign superannuated officers, it has been

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unfortunate that the Cochin State has been found to be an asylum for them. That is the policy which we condemn and which we insistently abhor. The reinstatement of Rao Sahib M. R. Ry. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar Avergal, the promotion of Dr. Rao (a gentleman more sinned against than sinning), and the appointment of Mr. I. N. Menon as Director of Public Instruction—these appointments have our hearty approval. They show the change in the mentality of the Government in recognising the merits of our own officers and the claims of our own citizens.

In regard to the conduct of Proceedings in this Council too, I am also delighted to find a marked change. The present Diwan has always conducted himself as the President of this Assembly. In regard to the second of the demands that were made, that is to say, the right of permitting Members, other than the interpellating Members, to put supplementary questions, that again is a privilege which ought to be granted at once. Now an interpillating Member could be helped by Members sitting around him and questions could be suggested to him. Why it is not granted, I really cannot understand. No useful purpose is served in withholding the privilege from the other Members of the Council. I believe the Diwan-President would be pleased to see that this reform is brought about at a very near date.

Before leaving this subject, I would also impress upon the Government the necessity to have the Council Regulation amended with regard to the election of the Deputy President, either by ordinary legislation or by a Proclamation issued by His Highness the Maharaja. We are also grateful in that a special Panchayat Officer has been appointed, a Special Officer has been nominated as the Protector of the Depressed Classes, a new Text-Book Committee for the selection of Malayalam readers has been appointed, and a new Committee constituted for the improvement of the Vernaculars. It is a matter of gratification to us to see that the Educational Survey is going on. And the idea of remedying the grievances of our villages after the receipt of the report of the Rural Reconstruction Committee is also very encouraging. These are some of the main features which induce me to think that there is a change in the mentality of the Government, and we very happily reciprocate it. One or two defects I desire to point out. I am not aware of any State, either Indian or British in which the civil service contains so many acting appointments. There is no necessity for keeping the appointment open for a very long time, inordinately long time. Difficulties crop up in the way of regular promotions being granted by such delay.

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Another matter to which I wish to draw the attention of Government is that it has, since the days of Mr. Banerji, not been very particular in the matter of the training up of seconds to step into the shoes of the Heads of Departments. Great inconveniences are experienced in appointing a man as Head of a Department when that gentleman either takes long leave or retires.

Another point on which attention has to be drawn is the great disparity of salary between the Heads of the Departments and the officers immediately subordinate to them.

Now with regard to the development of industries in the State. In spite of the repeated questions put in this House the only answer that used to be given is that there is an Economic Development Committee sitting. It is a matter of regret to me, that in spite of the capable personnel of the Committee, this Committee has been very economic in its suggestions and meetings. It is high time to get rid of it. There is no use of mending it. It is best to end it.

We are also sorry to see that the Tanneries have shared a very sad fate.

The absence of a State Bank or State-aided Bank has been very often commented upon in this House and it is unfortunate that no steps have been taken to remedy this defect. I may also, in this connection, mention that it would be a good thing to have our investments, at a low rate of interestlying elsewhere, made readily available to our people here.

Speaking of our Finances, I am tempted to quote the criticisms of the 'Times of India' upon the report of last year. The 'Times of India' said that in regard to Cochin administration and with regard to its policy towards accumulated surpluses the familiar ditty of the miser millionaire would seem to be quite applicable.

"I will gladly spend ten thousand sterling
For my dear daughter's proposed wedding.
But on second thoughts I think it best
To lock it up, quite safe, in my good chest."

The paper, the most sympathetic of the Anglo-Indian journals, also states that Mr. Herbert gets a very good opportunity in utilising to the best interests of the State the accumulated surpluses available. I cannot carry on this discussion further because the time limit stands in the way.

I shall make a few observations of my own on the Preliminary Budget. Hon'ble Members know, this is the first budget for which our present Diwan is primarily responsible. Well, it is a nominal surplus budget but I am sure it is going to be a deficit budget in the course of the year. The expected incomes

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from the interportal customs, Railways and Excise are sure to dwindle down. But I am not a person who is afriad of deficit budgets. The administration of a State is not like the management of a business concern. It is not our look-out always to see how much money we can save every year. Money has to be spent and usefully spent as was done by our illustrious Maharaja, Sir Sree Rama Varma, for beneficial undertakings. Debentures had to be raised when important measures had to be introduced in the State for the benefit of the people.

It gives me great pleasure to compliment the Finance Member upon the lucid exposition of the budget contained in his admirable speech. He is well known to be a dexterous juggler in figures. But his present speech before the House has the additional advantage of being an outspoken and frank utterance, holding out the hand of co-operation to the Members. But it is not really a retrenchment budget at all. I do not find any sign of substantial retrenchment any where. The economy of the budget, to put it in slang language, is the economy of the tailor, *viz.*, "three-and-a-half yards for a shirt, or three shirts for ten yards, if you please". We want retrenchment effected in all the departments, except the Nation-building activities, upon salaries, upon works which are not emergently needed, upon travelling allowances and the like. To say that you are thinking of making some reduction in the travelling allowance is a very meagre attempt towards the attainment of real retrenchment. Surely we can afford to make retrenchments in the salaries, at least on those above Rs. 200, and a substantial reduction in the T. A. also; to show our earnestness in this matter, Members on this side of the House, will I think, be very glad to consent the T. A. reductions. I shall have occasion to speak in greater detail when the demands are taken up. I am only endeavouring to refer to the main point of discussion.

Now, the great economy shown in the allotments towards the Municipalities and the Co-operative Institutions deserves to be severely criticised. These are institutions which are expected to be very useful to the people at large. In regard to Municipalities, Government contributes nothing this year. The 16 thousand rupees for Trichur is for the maintenance of trunk roads under Sirkar management.

In the Co-operative Department also, the contribution is very meagre. In passing, I may mention that, to my thinking, the separate expenditure shown for Stationery and Printing, which has been created as a new department this year, and the provisional adjustments to each of these departments on this item is a mistake; a repetition. Really speaking, the amount that

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stands disbursed in the Stationery and Printing Department, in a lump sum, is only an advance, and why these advances should be repeated again in the disbursements column of other departments too, I can't understand. Retrenchment all over, is absolutely necessary. In regard to the other Nation-building departments we have not made sufficient allotments this year.

Before I conclude, I have a few obervations to make on subjects tabooed from discussion in this House. This is the only opportunity we get to ventilate our views on them. I beg to put in a plea for the Princes in this State. There is no State anywhere in India in which the Royalty takes only so little, as five lakhs out of 84. It has often stung me to the quick to see that due care and respect are not bestowed upon the Members of the Royal Family. Ten per cent of the gross revenues of the State is certainly a modest and legitimate allotment for the Royal Family. I am aware that the 5 lakhs do not take in the amounts spent upon Palace buildings. It is therefore my special request to the Durbar that this matter would receive their special and very serious consideration. I would also say, mobilise the Princes. There is no use in clustering them in Trippunittura, a very unhealthy place. Why not colonise them in all the healthy localities of the State ? Why not they be asked to do some honorary work for the uplift of the country ?

Another matter about which I wish to draw the attention of Government, is in regard to the Harbour and the Railway. Investments upon the Harbour and the Railway ought to be, and can certainly be, met by debenture loans. It would not be difficult to raise a loan. These are concers benefitting generations to come. Why should we be asked to contribute the full amount for them, the benefits of which are to be reaped by people yet to be born, by our successors? My suggestion therefore is, as was suggested by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, the Member for Mulakunnathukavu in the First Council, raise debentures and meet these expenses. That would give us great relief and a very large slice every year of the assets to be utilised for other beneficial purposes.

With regard to the Hydro-Electric scheme, it is my humble request to the Durbar to get the scheme thoroughly examined, before it is launched in. I do not know whether it has been so done. But we desire to point out that necessary precautions should be taken to avoid wasteful expenditure. I have a word to say, regarding the formation of an Executive Council. That is one of the demands made by the

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Progressive Party on page 1904 of this report which I read. It is very essential for a State like Cochin, where the Legislature does not hold an upper hand, where the Executive is not subordinate to the Legislature, to have an Executive or Advisory Council composed of at least two members in addition to the Diwan, both of them being non-officials, or one of them an official and the other a non-official. Continuity of policy, consistency in Government actions, is very much to be desired. Whoever the Diwan might be, he is, after all, human, and is liable to err. Three heads put together produce better results than one. Cochin with its high level of culture and educational progress certainly deserves to possess an Executive Council.

Another matter of importance is the necessity for upholding the claims of qualified ladies in the State. Cochin State, of all the States in India, that I am aware of, possesses a greater number of graduates and qualified ladies than any other State in India. Sufficient encouragement has not been given to them. Let them be given " a fair chance though no favour."

It might also be necessary to point out that, as in Travancore, the Council Secretary might be the Assistant Secretary to the Government. I am delighted to see Mr. Mathew appointed as Council Secretary. But on principle, the Special Finance Committee's suggestion, that the Assistant Secretary may be ex-officio Council Secretary as well, deserves to be carried out.

We are very glad that the present Diwan is giving due recognition to the claims of the Members of the Bar and we are also happy to understand that he has revived the old practice of consulting the Judges of the Chief Court in regard to the appointments of District Judges and subordinate judicial officers. We wish that practice would be continued.

I have also to point out that a First Class Magistrate with full powers might be appointed for the southern division. As it is, the conferring of special powers is of very little avail to the litigants. That was the practice years ago and there is no good reason why it should have been discontinued. In passing I have to strongly codemn the action of the Government in the appointment of a Special Magistrate to try the Kumb langhi riots. There was absolutely no justification for it. Any magistrate in the service might have been appointed. Is it a more serious affair than the riots in Chalakkudi, I mean the Melur riots? I think the Diwan was not fully appraised of the circumstances under which he was induced to appoint a Special Magistrate. Was the appointment of a Vakil from the

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Bar, necessary ? He is a great personal friend of mine and I am very glad he got the job. But it is almost a slight on the subordinate Magistracy here. But an experienced Magistrate ought to have been deputed, irrespective of caste, or creed if the Darbar thought that a Special Magistrate had to be appointed for the purpose.

In regard to the Educational Department I am going to make a suggestion which might perhaps startle the House, but it is my deliberate and considered opinion that it is high time that primary education should be taken up in hand by the Government itself. We have resolved to give a vocational turn to elementary education. Ample funds are needed for efficient vocational teaching. In the aided schools the vocational training given at present is only nominal The very liberal grants made by the Government to the aided schools make up a sum which would almost suffice to carry on primary education entirely by Government. The percetage of grants made in the name of primary education in the Cochin State, exceed the proportion granted by any other Government.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—The Member has exceeded the time.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Have I exceeded the time, Sir?

President.—You may have another 3 minutes.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Very good. This is a matter upon which I may have more to say. It would be advantageous to adopt what is familiarly known as Mr.Champion's Report, in our State too. Primary education has to be carried on here, mainly on the lines indicated therein.

In regard to the Agricultural Department I am inclined to think that sufficient help is not seen given to ryots in the proper methods of agriculture. That is a subject upon which I shall deal hereafter.

Now I would conclude by saying that the suggestions made by me are entirely my own. They may or may not be the views of the Progressive Party (*Hear, hear*). I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the extra time allowed to me.

Mr.P.S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—Sir, it is an agreeable surprise to me to find a surplus budget at hand. The whole world has plunged deep in an economic turmoil. The Hoover plan is slow to lift it up. We hear of retrenchments every where, in the lives of the people as well as in the ventures of the Government. New taxes are thrust upon, and people rise in riots. These

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are the sorry spectacles in our sister States. But our State, bearing no additional burden, is launching on her enterprises with better resources. The Hon'ble Member for Finance deserves our high admiration and heartfelt congratulations on his successful Budget leaving a good legacy behind.

Now, Sir, in discussing the general policy of the Government let me draw the attention of the House to the constitutional development of our State. The spread of education at home and the knowledge of the success of social, economic and political revolutions abroad effect in the civic consciousness of the people. They are not satisfied with the old order of things. They question their sanctity and set aside everything rusty and time-worn. Higher sentiments appeal to them. They are on their toes yearning to break the air of freedom. For governing themselves they want that their united voice should prevail in the Government of the country. The Crown is to be the emblem, the outward expression of the will of the people, not of the choicest few of a particular class or community but of the rank and file of the country. That is the essence of democracy.

Sir, India is on the threshold of a sweeping change, a change pregnant with consequences not only for British India but also for the whole Native States, forming one-third part of India. In the future Swaraj India, these States are not to remain isolated, pampering to the whims and caprices of their rulers. They are not destined to be the Ulster of India. We have to take an equal and honourable part in the all-India affairs. Hence it is fitting and proper that we should set our home in order.

But what is the condition of our State at present? How far have we progressed on the constitutional side? The answer is quite disappointing. True, we have got this legislative body. In name and form it is quite all right. We are all assembled here as the chosen representatives of the people. We are to discuss and decide the particular questions of our respective constituencies and the general policy of the Government. But on closer scrutiny we find we have not got the substance of power.

Sir, being seated on the Presidential Chair, you are the guardian angel of the House, simply to watch and bless the deliberations here, with no eyes, no ears, no tongue but those of the House. But, Sir, as the Diwan, you are the Head of the Excutive. When we, on this side of the House, have to criticise your acts, when your credit is at stake, how can we expect impartial judgment of a Speaker, at your hands? Naturally, you

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will speak for justifying your conduct and then you will cease to be the Speaker.

Again, Sir, within the fourwalls of the House, under the very nose of the Protector of the Rights and Liberties of the House, we are not safe. Absolute privilege, for the free expression of our thought, is not expressly given us. We fear to call a spade a spade. At any moment we may be dragged into the Court of Law and made answerable for our frank expressions. Without complete freedom of speech, free discussion on any topic is highly difficult.

Moreover numerous subjects of public importance like the Palace, Devaswam, Religion, Charities, etc., are tabooed ones. Appropriations of revenue to several matters are not submitted to the approval of the House. Even with regard to those coming under our limited purview, we have very little control. Very often our proposals are thrown to the winds. Free and easy resort to 'vetoing' and 'certifying' in the name of 'expediency' and 'efficiency' makes this House nothing but a mockery. These, Sir, are only some of the disadvantages we are labouring under. Unless they are eradicated and radical changes are introduced in the constitution, this will remain to be a farce and the large sum of money spent on it will be a mere waste.

But Sir, we are not without hopes. You have breathed the free air of England and enjoyed the priceless gifts of democracy. We are also aware of the fact that you are paying much heed to the verdicts of the House. Your recent gesture, in leaving for election the post of the Deputy President, the first of the kind in a Native State, is a positive proof of your earnestness. Sir, until we are given the privilege of electing the President, make it a convention of the constitution that the Deputy President is to be the Speaker of the House. I am sure he will fittingly fill the Presidential Chair. By the like acts widen the scope of the House and afford us an opportunity to show to the rest of the world that Native States are not impediments in the political salvation of Mother India and that they also can be governed on true democratic lines. Let it be to your credit, that an Englishman brought up this young tender plant of democracy to a fruit growing 'Kalpaka' tree, so that your fair name may be written in letters of gold in the constitutional history of the State, parallel to that of the famous Frenchman Simon de Montfort in the constitutional progress of your native land.

Sir, these are only questions agitating the minds of the politician and civilised citizen. The average man in the rustic village is satisfied with very few things of dire necessity. The real prosperity of the State lies in the contentment of the bulk

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of the village. They are the backbone of the country. The State ought to pay more attention to the rural reconstruction. The Panchayat may be working in this direction. But I find in the new budget that the amount allotted for contribution to Village Panchayats has diminished from that of last year by Rs. 6,000 and odd. This retrograde step can never be justified. The constituency which I have the honour to represent, is one of the most neglected. It is called Kattur, which literally means the 'Home of Forests'. The people are all agriculturists who rest contented with their miserable lot and hence no public agitation. Panchayats are not working efficiently. Communication and water supply are very poor. We feel the awkward situation when we return to our constituencies. They bombard us with a volley of questions to know what has been done for them. They find no improvement in their condition. Many turn desperate and lose their faith in us. They suspect that we are not prompt in redressing their grievances. Perhaps, that explains why some of the Hon'ble Members of the House have to choose new constituencies. Therefore the Government ought to be more alert in the proper working of the Panchayat Department. The Ayurvedic system of treatment is highly popular in the rural parts. For medical aid, they invariably go to the native physicians especially in cases where no surgical operation is needed. Our country is very rich in herbs, roots and leaves of high medical value. At the same time they are dead cheap. In spite of all that there are only 17 dispensaries in the State and the Government have allotted this year only Rs. 15,000 and odd. It is only a trifle when compared with the 4 lakhs and odd of rupees spent by the Medical Department. This step-motherly attitude of the Government towards the indigenous system of treatment is highly lamentable.

Closely allied to the rural reconstruction is the uplift of the Depressed Classes. They form a good number of the State's population. They are a toiling set of people, mainly responsible at the bottom for the material progress of the country. Even to-day they are not much better than slaves practically. True, very recently elementary rights of citizenship have been extended to them; but it is very doubtful whether they do enjoy those privileges. Most of them are homeless and possessing not an inch of ground of their own. In my constituency there are villages, *e. g.*, Karuvannur and Padiyur where these people have no burial grounds and they find it difficult to remove the dead bodies. Their social and economic dependence make them shudder at the sight of the caste-Hindus. Therefore

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the Government ought to adopt a more forward policy by multiplying the number of special colonies, assigning the Poromboke lands to them and giving more encouragement in education.

Sir, when we demand further allotment of revenue in certain directions, the Hon'ble Members on the Treasury Bench open their hands and say they are helpless for want of sufficient funds. I can assure you, Sir, that the financial position will be better by adopting a further change of policy. Unfortunately we are all untouchables to many items of expenditure, considered highly sacred. In the name of religion thousands of rupees is spent out of the public revenue. First of all, religion ought to be left alone to the particular beliefs of the individual. It is a controversial point whether gifts to Gods (Vazhivadoos) can be morally justified. Moreover to-day the State is embracing people of different faiths. If the expenditure is incurred for any particular religion it may be a waste in the eyes of others. Perhaps some of the Hon'ble Members may be aware of the contraversy that was going on in British India regarding the application of public revenue for the payment of the Metropolitan Bishop. Therefore it is proper that a change of policy should be adopted in this line. Again, Sir, an equally good amount is spent in the name of charities. What charities ?—not the amelioration of the disabled and starving beggars, not for the protection of the orphans or the helpless widows, not for the education of the deserving students; but mainly for feeding certain idle set of people. This is a gross waste of public revenue, encouraging idleness, retarding industry and self-help and demoralising the particular class of people who become a parasite to society.

Again Sir, a large amount can be saved by reducing the salaries of the high paid officers. In the last session of the Indian National Congress it is provided as a fundamental principle of the Swaraj constitution that even the highest officer in the Swaraj India is to be satisfied with Rs. 500 a month. The Diwan's salary is far higher than that of the Prime Minister of Japan, which is one of the world powers of to-day. The case is worse if we import European officers, when we are subjected to pay prohibitive duties as overseas allowance, in addition to their maximum pay. When retrenchment has become the cry of the day, we are surprised to note an increase in the salaries of certain high-grade officers, though the same liberality is lacking in the case of those at the lower rank. Sir, besides retrenching the expenditure we ought to find out new sources of revenue. The land is already taxed very highly and in many cases they

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have become subjected to marginal returns. Any additional burden on land is to tell upon the condition of the poor ryots. We are to look out elsewhere. Why not we consider the feasibility of levying a tax on the unearned income by way of death duties or so? It has become a great problem for the financiers in British India. I fully agree with my Hon'ble friends who have advocated the introduction of income-tax. Certain monied classes are left free, bearing no burden of the State. It is they who enjoy the maximum benefit of the State. Therefore, it is legitimate that they should be subjected to some sort of taxation on their income, through whatever source it might be. Perhaps the Government will have to face the overwhelming opposition of the high official and commercial classes. Under the growing needs of the State, in the interests of the people at large we cannot but adopt such new schemes and it will be cowardly on the part of the Government to shirk responsibility in the matter.

Sir, in viewing the general policy of the Government, I like to point out one or two curious practices in the State. In the matter of appointments, and transfers from one department to another, little regard is paid to the knowledge and experience of the officer in the particular department under his charge. For example, take the case of a Government pleader. One day he is appointed the Commissioner of Excise. The next day he may be transferred to the Police Department. Perhaps drink and crime go hand in hand. Very soon we find him transported to the spiritual atmosphere of the Devaswam. Again, he may come down as the Secretary to the Diwan, or he may be posted to the Bench of the Chief Court. In short, he is treated as a domestic servant changing his work in quick succession. This is a grave mistaken policy. These different departments are not at all allied ones. Their officers are not like ministers in charge of various portfolios in a Cabinet. They are the heads of the departments and they are expected to possess expert knowledge in those subjects. I earnestly suggest that it should be an invariable rule, that transfers and promotions can be made only in the same department.

Sir, another point is this. The State has got a peculiar fascination for re-entertaining the old retired officers in the service. Of late they were recruited mainly from outside the State. But now that boon is extended to the pensioned officers of the State also. This policy is deadly opposed to the principle of retirements and pension. I do not know whether any monkey-gland operation gives them renewed vigour and vitality for serving the Government after some years of retired life. Anyhow this remains a riddle which none can explain. The sooner we

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make a departure in this policy the better for the administration.

Sir, in conclusion permit me to make one more observation. It is with great relief that we find a visible change on the right lines in the General Administration of the State. The weak and vacillating policy of the late regime is giving way to something strong and original. Sir, with your advent the proverbial European punctuality and I. C. S. discipline have pervaded the whole field of administration. This change of regime brings to my mind what I have read of the strong rule of the Tudors after the fall of the Plantagenet aristocracy. But let us hope that the change will not end in despotism, thwarting the wishes of the people. Sir, it is to be remembered that a good Government is no substitute for a bad democracy. Therefore, Sir, within the short span of your regime, by a three years plan or so, let this House be elevated to a sovereign body, where the Hon'ble Members on the opposite side are made responsible to the legislature.

Mr. Popatlal Lalan.—Sir, I believe, I am only echoing the feelings of my constituency when I say that they feel extremely grateful to His Highness the Maharaja and to His Highness' Government for having granted to the representatives of this House the rare privilege of suggesting one among themselves for the responsible Office of Deputy President, a privilege which many of our sister States like Mysore and Travancore do not enjoy as yet in spite of the fact that their representative institutions are much older than ours. I welcome this as an earnest of His Highness' desire to associate the people in an increasing measure with the Government of the State. After all, the right now conferred is not very much in itself and I hope His Highness would ere long be graciously pleased to grant us a more responsible form of Government, where the Executive will be directly responsible to the elected representatives of the people, and we would have a non-official President to guide the deliberations of this Council. Another urgent piece of reform that is needed is the grant to the Members of the right of putting supplementary questions—a right that is enjoyed by the Councils in British India and even the Legislative Council of the Pudukottah State.

Coming to the budget statement, while I must congratulate the Finance Member on the balanced budget he has presented to the Council, I fail to see any provision made for the development of trade and commerce. I come Sir, from a constituency which is pre-eminently commercial and I have searched in vain for any serious attempt made on the part of the Government to tackle the problem of the present economic distress in the

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country. Except deploring the prevailing distress and anticipating a fall in revenue under various heads, we find that the Government have not tapped any new sources of revenue or devised any practical means of tiding over the situation. The present economic distress is due mainly to the fall in the prices of all the produce in the country and the closure of the world markets for them. The Government should organise a Department of commerce and industries, under the charge of an expert, collect statistics regarding the output of the country and find out new markets for our produce. They must have a commercial agent in London and other important centres who should get into touch with the world-markets and find out new openings for the disposal of our produce. There is a good deal of useful work that can be done in India itself. The Department of Commerce can explore fresh avenues in India itself for the sale of Malabar produce on more advantageous terms. Cocoanut oil, for instance, the export demand for which has now considerably fallen, can be made to fetch a better price if an all-India market was found for the same. I would strongly urge the attention of the Government to the hardships felt by the oil mill-owners of Cochin for want of adequate supplies of coppra to run their mills, and as far as this State is concerned the supplies do not meet the demands from the mills. For Colombo and Travancore coppra, there is prohibitive duty to import same to this State, by payment of which the mill-owners of our State are unable to effect sale of oil at the market rate; whereas it is for the Government to move Government of India, in particular, to see that duty on Colombo coppra is removed and with Travancore to devise some step to help the sister State. The financial prosperity of the country largely depends on the advancement of trade and commerce and it is high time we have a Department of Commerce and Industries in Cochin.

Some of my honourable colleagues have suggested the introduction of income-tax as a means of augmenting the revenue of the State. I must enter my emphatic protest against the same at a time when the commercial classes have been hard-hit by the grave economic crisis that has arisen in the country. What with the heavy Customs and Harbour dues, the keen competition in trade and the great uncertainty, that prevails in the money-market, the income-tax will be a source of oppression to the mercantile community in particular and to others in general. The immediate result will be the diversion of trade to other ports from Cochin, a contingency that will prove ruinous to the interests of Cochin. Far from introducing any new impost of the kind there is the urgent necessity of lightening the

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burdens on the commercial community just at this time. The State has not done anything so far, by way of affording cheap and easy credit to the merchants and the agriculturists and thereby checking their being exploited by foreign banks. It is high time that a State-aided Bank is organised in Cochin on the lines of the State-aided Bank of Travancore. I know a Banking Committee was formed during the Diwanship of Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, but nothing further has been heard of the same since.

I congratulate the Government in having brought about the separation of Agriculture and Panchayats. I am of opinion that more liberal allotments should be made for the Agricultural Department. The Department should concentrate more on practical results and demonstrations should be carried out in every Taluk with a view to convince the ryots of the advantages of scientific methods of cultivation. The ryots as a rule are conservative and averse to give up their old and time honoured methods and it is for the Department to see that they are convinced of the practical benefits of improved and up-to-date methods. The Department has to make its influence felt among the actual cultivators.

I consider it was an extremely unwise step for the Government to have abolished the Commerce seat in this Council and I request you will be pleased to have the same restored as early as possible. It is commerce that has given Cochin its importance and it is strange that at a time when they have embarked on a programme of commercial development like the extension of the Railway and the improvement of the Harbour the only seat reserved for the commercial community should have been abolished. In the Travancore Council there are two seats for Commerce. There are likewise important unrepresented minorities like the Gujeratis, the Saraswaths and the Tamil Brahmins who have large vested interests in the State and whose claims for special seats deserve the Government's careful consideration.

While referring to the development of the Harbour I bring to the notice of the Government the serious hardships to which the people of Mattancheri are put, owing to the restrictions imposed by the Harbour authorities with regard to navigation in the inner Harbour. As a result of the restrictions considerable delay, inconvenience and loss is caused and the only remedy is for the Government to provide a deep and wide water-way between the Reclamation and the island of Vendurutthi. I must also urge that preference should be given to the merchants of the Cochin State in the assignments of land on the

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new reclamation. Such a preference would prove of great advantage to our country.

I must point out, Sir, that the Government have of late been pursuing a step-motherly policy towards the Municipalities in the matter of grants for town improvement. Speaking with special reference to Mattancheri, the town is getting more and more congested day by day and it is high time the Government gave the Municipality a liberal grant to open out a net work of water ways and roads which would assist trade and provide easy and safe means of transport. The system of water supply is unsatisfactory and very often water intended for Mattancheri is diverted for the use of steamers and people are left without water for hours. Among other important suggestions I have to offer that the Police Department should enlist as recruits to the force, only men with better educational and general equipment, that Hindi should be taught as a compulsory subject of study in all schools, that the Government should, conjointly with the Travancore State, construct a bridge between Edacochi and Aroor and that there should be at least one Judge in the Chief Court who has specialised in Commercial, Law, Banking and Finance.

I would bring to the notice of the House and the Government that while the whole world is affected by financial crisis our Government has been following a liberal attitude of raising the grades of fatly fed officers who are also entitled for T. A, without taking into much consideration the hardships felt by the low-paid servants of the State.

May I request you, Sir, to set an example by sacrificing a decent amount out of the remuneration you are now getting Statewhich would be a good example to other high officers of the whose service are not lent by British Government. (*Laughter*).

In conclusion, I would strongly urge this House and the Government to carefully examine the whole situation and to see that retrenchment in every department is affected and money only spent for the extreme necessity of the population at large.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—Mr. President, Sir, before I proceed to make a few observations on the Budget before the House, I wish to convey to His Highness the Maharaja and to you, Sir, His Highness' able and gifted Minister, the thanks of the people of my constituency for the privilege granted to this House of suggesting its own Deputy President. Of course, it is only a half-measure, but they say that half a loaf is better than none, but we are sure you will accord a full loaf at no distant time. Another point I wish to thank you for, Sir, and that is the attitude you have adopted towards this Council ever since

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you took the reins of Government in Cochin (*Hear, hear*). It was a general complaint during the regime of your predecessor that the wishes of this Council were persistently flouted by him, that he was generally impervious to public opinion, and that consequently the proceedings of this Council were a mere Drama or even a Farce. But there has been a very agreeable, a remarkable change since you have taken up the reins of Government and begun to preside over the destinies of this Council. (*Hear, hear.*) The very promptitude and honesty with which you have endeavoured to carry out the wishes of this Council, the rare sympathy and consideration you have shown to the feelings of this House, have gone a great way in increasing its prestige and reputation in the estimation of the public and I venture to hope that many of the Members, old and new, who are now on the floor of this House, must have been attracted to it mainly on account of this fact. (*Hear, hear*). But at the same time I would suggest that as matters now stand, with the functions and powers of the Council so rigorously restricted on all sides, mere consideration and sympathy would not go any long way. We want more powers for this Council. Some of the directions in which these powers ought to be given were already indicated by the Progressive Party a few years ago. And there is no need of repeating all of them here. The right of having an elected President, the right of supplementary questions to Members in general, a better hold on the Finances of the State and a better control over the Executive of the country, would be some of the more important powers this House might legitimately claim. (*Hear, hear*). It was argued by your predecessor that this Council was an infant and could not therefore be entrusted with heavy responsibilities. This I should say is indeed a puerile, infantile fancy. The same charge would be levelled against the Constitution of the United States of America, of Australia or of any of the South American Republics. And, yet you find the constitutions in these States are in many respects more advanced than the constitutions of such older countries as England and Austria. The fact is that this Council was long overdue here in Cochin and though the Council itself is only some six years old the people of Cochin are much older in political consciousness and intellectual advancement. Hence it is our earnest hope that before you lay down the reins of office, you will signalise your regime by granting ampler and wider powers to this House so as to make it a really functioning organ of the body politic of Cochin.

Now to pass on to a few general observations on the Administration. Sir, before you took into your hands the reins of

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the Government of Cochin, there was widespread and deep-felt discontent about the way in which the administration was carried on. It was characterised as weak and inefficient as, dilatory and dull. On the very floor of this House it was held out " as the saddest spectacle of laxity and demoralisation as, the inevitable concomitant of nepotism, favouritism and communalism, purused with undisguised and unblushing downrightness". There was very little principle or policy. It was all a matter of drift. Here again, with your arrival, Sir, there has been a new era, a sudden and surprising galvanization of the departments, some of which till then were in a sleepy existence. Much has been done in the shape of reorganisation, of rejuvenation and rectification, so as to raise the standard and efficiency of the administration. But I venture to hold that much more has still to be done, and it is in this all-important work of shaping our future that statesmanship demands that we should adopt definite principles and far-reaching lines of policy to control and regulate our efforts from time to time, and not drift along the path of mere chance. And once these lines are threshed out on the floor of this House, it would be the duty of the Finance Minister, I suppose, to find the necessary funds.

Surplus Budget v. *Deficit Budget*.—In this connection, just a word about surplus budget *versus* deficit budget. It has become the fashion of the day to congratulate the Government on a surplus budget. But I venture to hold the opposite view. I would congratulate the Finance Minister, or better, the Government, for an evenly balanced budget, and I would not mind even if there be a small deficit at the end of the year—not of course every year. It is one of the cardinal principles of Public Finance that more should never be collected from the people than could be profitably spent upon them. An evently balanced budget shows that only so much as could be profitably spent upon it has been collected from the public, whereas a surplus budget is the result of one of the two causes—either the money which the people have paid in for many of their urgent demands has not been spent upon them, or that more money has been collected than could be spent upon them profitably. In either case it amounts to a lack of true financial statesmanship.

Capital Outlay.—One argument advanced for a surplus budget is the cost of capital expenditure which might occur now and then. Sir, I venture to suggest that it is again another fundamental principle of Public Finance that capital outlay should not as a rule be met out of current income. Sir, when a project after mature consideration is found to be a productive one, I am sure there would not be any hesitation

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on the part of a wise Government to finance it with borrowed capital. And indeed a national debt, incurred for productive expenditure, has been the invariable feature of all modern progressive States; and we have, therefore, nothing to fear in having to contract a national debt, Sir, provided the same were to be spent on profitable concerns and not wasted on frivolous luxuries.

Incidence of taxation.—Now, to the question of the distribution of the burden of taxation. It is another principle of Public Finance that people should be made to contribute to the public funds according to their ability to pay. But it is the very opposite we in Cochin have been doing for the last many years. We have been following the very iniquitous financial policy imposing heavy burdens upon the poor agriculturists and the poorer sections of society, while leaving alone the rich money-lenders and merchants and the professional classes living outside the Municipalities. To collect, according to the figures of 1105, 13 lakhs of rupees from the cultivators and 40 and odd lakhs mainly from the poor sections of society in the shape of excise out of a total of 93, in addition to their contribution under railways, stamps, etc., and at the same time to allow the money-lenders and merchants to escape scot-free is a clear injustice done to the former. True they have stood it in times of normal prosperity. But with this abnormal and unprecedented economic depression staring them in the face, especially in the case of the agriculturists, on whom the brunt of the depression has fallen, it is possible that unless some relief is given to them, they may well be driven to the breaking point. In this connection it may not be out of place to remind this House that it was a similar system of iniquitous taxation which supplied the most potent driving force to the great national catastrophe of the French Revolution. God forbid that such a calamity should ever occur in our dear little State of Cochin. Yet history has a very bad knack of repeating itself. In any case, to be forewarned is to be fore-armed.

The Law of Relative Importance.—Again, as regards the disbursement of public revenue, the most important principle to which I should like to draw the attention of this House is the principle of relative importance which in technical language is called the law of equimarginal utility. To waste on costly luxuries without serving the necessaries of life would argue against a totally sound financial policy. And yet what is it that we have been doing in Cochin? With the distressing refrain of 'no funds' to every request for rural communications, for medical aid and sanitation; with industries and commerce

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hopelessly neglected; with the claims of primary education cooly ignored, the Government of your predecessor had not the least compunction of heart to embark upon the costly College scheme of Anappara, where a model College was contemplated to be ideally equipped with all the modern paraphernalia of residential collegiate education.

General Principles.—I am very glad to note that the Finance Member has been kind enough to say that "the goal is the same; our aim and endeavour is like yours, the attainment of the maximum prosperity and the contentment of the people of the State to which all of us belong". But I beg to say that mere pious intentions or mere resolves, unaccompanied by strong and vigorous action, would not go any long way towards the realisation of these intentions. Hence as a first step in this direction, as pointed out above, it is necessary that we on both sides of the House should put our heads together to find out a few well defined principles and far-reaching lines of policy along which we may direct our efforts from time to time so as to reach the goal that we have in view. The three most important aspects of advancement in a State may be classified as political, administrative and social and economic. It is a *sine qua non* of this advancement that we should have a definite goal, to be approached in progressive stages of achievement.

Our Political Goal.—What then is our political goal? Fourteen years ago the British Parliament enunciated the goal of British Indian Administration as the attainment of responsible self-government in progressive stages; and to-day this ideal of self-government has assumed definite form as Dominion Status, again to be organised on a federal basis. The Indian National Congress too, has its own political goal for India. What should then be our political goal for Cochin, and what shall be our position in this federal scheme? Surely, Sir, these areimportant questions which no Government would take the responsibility of solving without associating with itself the elected and accredited reprsentatives of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) Is it not very strange then that this House should still be kept in the dark as to the representations that were made by our Government on this matter and the instructions that were given by them to their representative at the Round Table Conference? Even to-day the matter is a mystery and we have no idea as to what the position of our little State would be in this great scheme of federation. Sir, I ask you, if the Members on the other side are really solicitous for this maximum prosperity and contentment of the people, why should they take the risk of the [sole] responsibility of

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solving such important questions? Are not the people equally solicitous to maintain the independence and integrity of the Royal House, to maintain the proud privilege of Cochin as an independent State here in India? Surely, the people, loyal as they are and devoutly attached to His Highness the Maharaja, stand second to none in their solicitude for maintaining the integrity and prestige of the Royal House. (*Hear, hear*).

Whatever views the Government may have in this matter, two points stand out clear. And on these points there can be little difference of opinion on this side of the House. The first is that the people of Cochin, along with the people of the other Indian States, totalling somewhere about 80 millions, must have a definite voice in the Councils of the Imperial Federation of India. The second point is the question of internal development. It is clear that, forming as we shall do, part and parcel of a wider self-governing India, we in Cochin cannot afford to lag behind in the matter of political advancement. We too must progress towards responsible self-government, which, under the paternal guidance of our beloved Maharaja, must have an Executive fully responsible to the legislature and a judiciary completely independent of the Executive; wherein the finances of the State shall be controlled by the elected representatives of people; and wherein all these would be broad-based on a legislature which would have a wider suffrage of the people. This, Sir, I venture to hold, will be a rough figure of our political goal. The immediate step towards this, as I pointed out above, is the granting of ampler powers to this House. Another reform equally urgent is the widening of the franchise. A ten rupee tax qualification has enfranchised only 2 per cent of the people of Cochin —indeed a great disgrace and discredit to the enlightened public of Cochin. As the first step, therefore, the tax qualification has to be reduced to at least Rs. 5, even which, I dare say, would be a highly conservative reform for the times.

The social functions of the Government.—Then coming to the social role of the Government, there was a time when Government were considered to have only the negative duty of maintaining peace and order. But now all progressive Governments have taken up the task of initiating several social reforms and we here in Cochin also should not be behind hand in this particular matter. Education, sanitation and medical relief, freedom and facilities of religious worship, liberty of conscience, these are some of the lines in which social advancement may progress here in Cochin. In this connection, Sir, I feel constrained to remark that it is a serious blot on the fair name of Cochin that here even now we do not allow liberty of conscience.

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It is not allowed in Cochin for a man to change his faith according to his conviction without running the risk of foregoing his share of the ancestral property. This is a very serious position, a very serious blot, as I said, on the fair name of Cochin which has been noted in many respects for religious toleration.

Now coming to the educational policy, the Finance Member takes pride, and justly too, on the increasing share of public funds, even 18 per cent of it, spent on education, and yet it is an undisputed fact that the needs of primary education are not sufficiently met. The only remedy, Sir, lies in making this 15 and odd lakhs of rupees go a greater way than at present, and this would have been done had we stuck firmly to the policy enunciated by such illustrious administrators as Sir P. Rajagopalachari and Sir Albion Banerji. Sir P. Rajagopalachari than whom a shrewder and able statesman has not filled the chief ministerial chair in Cochin, enunciated this educational policy in his order on the Administration Report of 1075. He says: "There can be no doubt that a better out-turn can be secured if direct departmental operations are reduced and the funds thus set free are utilised for subsidising aided schools and this point of view must be kept in view whenever educational references are disposed of. The Superintendent must clearly understand that the policy of the Durbar is to restrict and reduce departmental operations and to encourage the operations of the aided agencies".

Again Sir A. R. Banerji, in para 17 of his note, incorporated in the Blue Book on Education published in 1914, remarked as follows:—"Having regard to past experience which justifies the assumption that the Government work in regard to elementary education is but a very small fraction of the work which is done by the people without any help whatever from the State, and having regard to the disproportionately high rate at which the Government are paying for the education of each pupil in the Sirkar Primary schools, the only correct policy at this juncture is to introduce an elastic system of grants under which the Managers of a large number of aided institutions may be able to equip them so as to make them really useful and efficient. It is not necessary to exercise any direct control over primary education. . . . . The more, therefore, is elementary education left in the hands of the people the better. It is only necessary to have an experienced staff of educationists to give advice and to keep the schools up to the mark by frequent inspection which however must be done in a sympathetic spirit and so long as they do useful work in their own way there is no need to interfere with them. The Government should, therefore, take such

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measures as would induce private individuals to come forward and maintain village schools". These, Sir, are wise words and I venture to hold that the proud position held by the Government of Cochin to-day in point of education among the foremost of the progressive States of India and also among the progressive provinces of British India, is the natural and inevitable outcome of this policy enunciated of old. Under these circumstances, Sir, I was simply shocked to hear from the Member for Irinjalakkuda that the Government should take up primary education in the interests of economy, and I was equally shocked to hear the Director of Public Instruction trying to justify intervention in the internal management of private institutions. It is a fact admitted on all hands that private agency is much cheaper than Government agency in the matter of primary education; and if statistical proof were required we have it in the Report of 1105, where it is found that the cost of the Government per pupil in the primary schools was Rs. 7—9—0 while in the private schools the cost to Government was only Rs. 4—2—0. It was a great difference. If you again remember that the private agencies had spent lakhs and lakhs of rupees in providing the necessary buildings, for which, except in very rare cases and except in a very meagre way, the Government have not given them any help.

President.—Your time is nearly up.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—Sir, two minutes more. The same is the case we find in the Medical Department, where the Ayurvedic system has been utterly neglected to the great advantage of the Allopathic system of the West. I am sure that if a hundredth part of the revenue, now spent on the Allopathic system, were spent on the Ayurvedic system (perhaps there are no dispensaries of that system in the country) it would have so developed into a flourishing concern as to solve with admirable rapidity and surprising cheapness, the question of our rural medical relief.

I would have liked to say something on the present economic depression which stares us in the face and also of some of the lines along which we might attempt a cure. Since, however, my time is up, I hope to say something when the cut motions are on the floor of this House. I would only say that of all the most important problems of the day, the economic problem is the first and foremost, especially in view of the economic depression that is now prevailing. It will not be too much on the part of the non-officials on behalf of the people to request the officials to consider the question in a selfless spirit. Reduction in pay, as was remarked here yesterday, might not bring in any large amount. But at least that would show the great

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sympathy the officials have for the afflicted people in the country and I am sure it would go a long way in giving them some degree of consolation.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ.— ആദ്യമായി നിയമസഭക്കു ഡിപ്പൂട്ടി പ്രസിഡണ്ടിനെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുവാനുള്ള അധികാരം വിട്ടതന്നതിനാൽ തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമനസ്സിനോടും അവിടത്തെ വിശ്വസ്ഥ മന്ത്രിയായ അങ്ങയോടും ഞാൻ നന്ദിപറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഇന്നലെ മുതൽ ഇന്നു വരെ കഴിഞ്ഞ പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിൽ വാദവിഷയമായികണ്ടതു കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തു ഇപ്പോൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതും ഉണ്ടാകാൻ പോകുന്നതുമായ ഉദ്യോഗനിയമങ്ങളാണു്. അതിൽ ഓരോ ഭാഗക്കാരും അവരവർക്കു് ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടുമോയെന്നു് തുറന്നു വാദിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിലും, ആ അർത്ഥത്തിൽ സംസാരിച്ചതല്ലാതെ ബഡ്ജറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് വിമർശനം ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള ഒരു സമയമാണു് ഇത് എന്നു കൂടി അവർ മറന്നതു ഓർക്കുമ്പോൾ എനിക്കു സങ്കടം തോന്നുന്നു. ഒരു നായർക്കു് ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുത്താൽ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻ വളരെ നല്ല ആളാണെന്നു നായന്മാർ സ്തുതിച്ചു പറയും. ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കു കൊടുത്താൽ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജിയെപ്പോലെ നല്ല ആൾ വേറെ ഇല്ലെന്നു അവരും സ്തുതിക്കും. ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കു ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുത്താൽ അവരും അതുപോലെ തന്നെ. ഇവിടെ ആർക്കു ഗുണം ചെയ്യുമോ അവർ സ്തുതിക്കുക ഒരു പതിവാണു്. അതിനാൽ ഓരോരുത്തർ അവരവരുടെ താല്ക്കാലിക മനസ്ഥിതി അനുസരിച്ചു പറയുന്നതു വിശ്വസിക്കരുതെന്നു മാത്രം പറയുവാനാണു് രണ്ടു വാക്കു ഞാൻ സംസാരിക്കുന്നതു്. അതായതു ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കു യോഗ്യതയുള്ള ആളെ ആരായിരുന്നാലും ആ ആളെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ഒരുപ്രതം ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾക്കുണ്ടായാൽ ഈ വിധം വഴക്കുകൾ ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ഒരു പക്ഷേ രാജ്യത്തെയും രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ തരാതരങ്ങളെയും പ്രത്യേകം മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ വിദേശിയായ ഒരു ദിവാനു തൽസമയം സാധിച്ചെന്നു വരികയില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു എത്ര യോഗ്യന്മാരായാലും ചില അബദ്ധങ്ങൾ പറ്റിക്കൂടാ എന്നില്ല അങ്ങിനെ മേലാലെങ്കിലും വിദേശീയദിവാൻജിമാർ ഈ രാജ്യത്തു വരുന്നതായാൽ അവർക്കു ഈ അബദ്ധം പറ്റാതിരിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി അവിടുന്നു ഭാരം ഒഴിഞ്ഞു പോകുന്നതിനു മുമ്പായെങ്കിലും ഒരു എക്സിക്യൂട്ടീവ് കൌൺസിൽ (Executive Council) സ്ഥാപിച്ചുകിട്ടണമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ. അതിനു പ്രധാനമായ കാരണം ഇതു തന്നെയാണു്. അവിടുന്നു വന്ന ഉടൻ രാജ്യത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു യാതൊരു പ്രകൃതവുമില്ലാത്ത സ്ഥിതിക്കു ചിലർ പറയുന്നതു് വിശ്വസിക്കാതിരിക്കുവാൻ അവിടത്തേക്കു നിവൃത്തിയില്ലെന്നും എവർക്കും അറിയാവുന്നതാണു്. അങ്ങിനെ ചിലരുടെ ഉപദേശം കേൾക്കുന്നതിൽ അവർക്കു ഗുണമോ, നാട്ടുകാർക്കു ഗുണമോ എന്നു് അറിയുവാനും ഒരു വിദേശീയ ദിവാൻജിക്കുസാധിക്കാത്തതാണു്. ഇതുവരെ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന നാട്ടുകാരായ ദിവാൻജിമാർ ഹിന്തുക്കൾക്കാണു് മുഴുവൻ ഉപകാരം ചെയ്തതെന്നു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ട്രഷറിബഞ്ചു നോക്കിയാൽ തെളിഞ്ഞു കാണാമെന്നു് ഇന്നലെ ഒരു മെമ്പർ സംസാരിച്ചു. നാട്ടുകാരായ ദിവാൻജിമാരുടെ യോഗ്യതയെയോ ഗുണങ്ങളെസംബന്ധിച്ചു് സംസാരിക്കേണ്ട ഘട്ടത്തിൽ സംസാരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഇപ്പോൾ അവരെപ്പറ്റി ഒന്നും പറയുന്നില്ല. എന്നും വിദേശീയ ദിവാൻജിമാർതന്നെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുവാൻ പാടുള്ളു എന്നു പറയുന്നവനല്ല ഞാൻ. കൊച്ചിയിലും യോഗ്യന്മാർ ഉണ്ടാകും. നാട്ടുകാരായ ദിവാൻജിമാരുടെ കാലത്തുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ചില ഉദ്യോഗ നിയമനങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി പറയാം. ഇതിനു മുമ്പുണ്ടായിരുന്ന

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ദിവാൻജി അവർകളുടെ കാലത്തു ഡയറക്ടർ ആഫ് പബ്ലിക്ക ഇൻസ്ട്രക്ഷൻ മിസ്റ്റർ മത്തായി, ചീഫ് മെഡിക്കൽ ആൻറസാനിറററി ആഫീസർ മിസ്റ്റർ വ ർഗ്ഗീസ്സ, എക്സൈസ് കമ്മീഷണർ മിസ്റ്റർ ആൻറണി, ചീഫ് എഞ്ചിനീയർ, സ്വല്പ ദിവസം അവുധിയിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ച സമയത്തു", മിസ്റ്റർ ജാൺ കയ്മൻ എന്നി ങ്ങിനെ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നവരെല്ലാം ഏതുജാതിയിൽ പെട്ടവരാണെന്നു എനിക്കു മന സ്സു ലാകുന്നില്ല! അദ്ദേഹത്തിൻെറ കാലത്തല്ലയൊ ഈവക ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്ക് അവരുടെ ഉദ്യോഗ കാലാവുധികഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടും കാലം കൂട്ടിക്കൂട്ടി കൊടുത്തു അവ രെ സർവ്വീസ്സിൽ നിന്നും പിരിച്ചു വിടാതിരുന്നതു? ഒരു വിദേശിയ ദിവാൻ വന്ന ഉടനെ അല്ലയൊ മേൽപറഞ്ഞ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ ഒട്ടും താമസിയാതെ ജോലിയിൽനിന്നും പിരിച്ചയച്ചത"? ഈ സംഗതി നോക്കിയാലും നാട്ടുകാര നായ ദിവാൻജി തന്നെയാണ് വേണ്ടതെന്നു് അവരുടെ ആളുകൾക്കും സമ്മ തിക്കാതിരിക്കുവാൻ നിവർത്തിയില്ല. എങ്ങിനെ ആയാലും നാട്ടുകാരനായ ദിവാൻജി നമുക്കു് മേലാൽ തീരെ വേണ്ടെന്നു പറയുവാൻ ഞാൻ ഒരുക്കമില്ല.

ബഡ്ജററിനേപ്പററി അധികമൊന്നും എനിക്കു പറയുവാനില്ല. ഞാൻ ഭഗവൽ ഗീതയു, ഓട്ടൻ തുള്ളലും പഠിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഇന്നലെ രാത്രി കുറച്ചൊ ക്കെ ശ്രമിച്ചു നോക്കി. കുറത്തിപ്പാട്ടൊ വല്ലതും തട്ടിവിടുവാൻ ആലോചി ച്ചു. അപ്പോഴെക്കും ഇതു നിയമസഭയാണെല്ലൊ എന്നു ഓർമ്മ ഉണ്ടായി, അതുകൊണ്ടു് കുറച്ചുകൂടി ഗൌരവത്തിലാകാമെന്നു തീർച്ചയാക്കി. ബഡ്ജററ് വരവും ചിലവും തരിയായിരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടൊ? അല്ലെങ്കിൽ വരവു അധികവും ചിലവു കുറവും ആണൊ? ചിലവു അധികവും വരവു കുറവും ആണൊ?—എ ന്നൊക്കെ ഇപ്പോൾ ആലോചിച്ചിട്ടു ഫലമില്ല. അതു് കൊല്ലാവസാന ത്തിൽ മാത്രമെ തരിയായി കണക്കാക്കാവു എന്നു ഇതിനു മുമ്പുള്ള ബഡ്ജറു കൾ നോക്കിയാൽ അറിയാം. ഇപ്പോൾ കാണുന്നതു് ഒന്നും തരിയല്ലാത്തതു കൊണ്ടു് ചില പ്രധാന വിഷയങ്ങളെപ്പററി മാത്രം സംസാരിക്കാം. ബഡ്ജ ററ് ആദ്യമായി കിട്ടിയ ഉടനെ ഞാൻ നോക്കാറുള്ളതു് ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ കി ടക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ വല്ല പണികളും ചെയ്യുവാൻ ശമ്പ്മെണ്ടു് വിചാരിക്ക ുന്നുണ്ടൊ എന്നാണു്. നാം ലക്ഷം രൂപാ എറണാകുളത്തു് ഒരു മൂന്നു നില മാ ളിക ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി ബഡ്ജററിൽ ചേർത്തിട്ടുണ്ടായിരിക്കാം. എൻെറ നാട്ടിനും അതുപോലുള്ള മറെറ ഉൾനാടുകൾക്കും ഒന്നുമില്ല. പട്ടണങ്ങളിൽ അധികം സംഖ്യ ചിലവാക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് എനിക്കു് അസൂയയില്ല. പത്തുല ക്ഷം രൂപാ പട്ടണങ്ങളിൽ ചിലവു ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ ഒരു ലക്ഷമെങ്കിലും നാട്ടുപ റങ്ങൾക്കും തരണമെന്നാണു് എൻെറ അപേക്ഷ. എൻെറ നാട്ടിൽ അത്യാവ ശ്യമായ ചില റോഡുപണികൾ തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടു് നാലൊ അഞ്ചൊ കൊല്ലമാ യിട്ടും ഇനിയും പണി പൂർത്തിയാക്കീട്ടില്ല. തങ്ങളുടെ പ്രയത്നംകൊണ്ടു് ശ മ്പ്മെണ്ടു് ടാക്സു നിറയ്ക്കുന്ന ഉൾനാട്ടുകാർക്കു് റോഡില്ല; അഥവാ വല്ല പണി യും തുടങ്ങിയാൽ അതു് അവസാനിക്കുവാൻ വളരെ കാലതാമസവും വരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ പുതിയ ഒരു റോഡിനു കുറച്ചു സംഖ്യ ഈ കൊല്ലത്തെ ബഡ്ജററിൽ ചേർത്തുകാണുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെ തുടങ്ങിയതു മുഴുമിക്കാതെ വേറെ ഒരു പണി പ തിയതായി തുടങ്ങുന്നതു കാണുമ്പോൾ രാമേശ്വരത്തു പോയാലത്തെ ഒരു എ ട്ടാട് എനിക്കു ഓർമ്മവരുന്നു. അതു ഇവിടെ ഇപ്പോൾ തുറന്നു പറയുന്നില്ല. അതും തൊട്ടുവെക്കുക, ഇതും തൊട്ടുവെക്കുക ഒന്നിനും അവസാനം കാണുന്നി ല്ല. ഉൾനാടുകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം പ്രധാന സംഗതികൾ വിദ്യാ ഭ്യാസം, ഗതാഗത സൌകര്യം, ജലസൌകര്യം ഇതുകളാണു്. ഇലക്ട്രിക്ക് സ്കീം, കോളേജ് സ്കീം, റെയിൽവെ, ഹാർബർ ഇതൊന്നും അവക്കു അത്യാ വശ്യമുള്ളതല്ല. അവക്കാവശ്യമായ മെല്ലറഞ്ഞ നിസ്സാര സംഗതികൾ പോലും

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ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ചെയ്യുകൊടുത്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ പിന്നെ എന്താണ" അവക്കായി ചെയ്യുവാനുദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നതു !

കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തു മുഴുവൻ, നിയമസഭയിലുള്ള ഇലകടിക്കു പങ്കയെ മെമ്പർമാർക്കുള്ള കഷ്ടിൻ ചെയറൊ ഇഷ്ടിടെ കാണുന്ന മുന്നനില മാളികകളൊ, ഉണ്ടെന്നു ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾ ധരിക്കരുതു". ഉൾനാടുകളിലെ സ്ഥിതി ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നതിനായി എക്സ്റ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലം ഒന്നു സന്ദർശിക്കുന്നതിനു ദിവാൻജി അവർകളെ ഞാൻ ക്ഷണിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾ ഓരൊ ഉൾനാടും സന്ദർശിച്ചു നേരിട്ടു അന്വേഷിച്ചുവേണം ഉൾനാടുകളിലെ ധനസ്ഥിതി അറിയുവാൻ. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തെ ജനസംഖ്യ നോക്കിയാൽ പട്ടണങ്ങളിൽ താമസിക്കുന്നവരുടെ തുക വളരെ തുച്ഛമാണു". അവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നതു" മാസം തികയുമ്പോൾ ശമ്പളം വാങ്ങിസുഖിക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ അറിയുന്നില്ല. ഈ കൊല്ലംവരെ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനുള്ള ആഗ്രഹം എനിക്കു ഉണ്ടായില്ല. ഇക്കൊല്ലം അങ്ങിനെയല്ല തോന്നുന്നതു". ഒരു ഉദ്യോഗം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ യാതൊരു ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടും ഉണ്ടാകയില്ലായിരുന്നല്ലൊ എന്നു" തോന്നാറുണ്ടു"! എങ്കിലും എനിക്കു ഉദ്യോഗംവേണ്ട. മാസം തികയുമ്പോൾ ഒരു നിശ്ചിത തുക കിട്ടുന്നവരല്ലാതെ മറ്റുള്ളവരെല്ലാം ഇപ്പോൾ പാപ്പർ പുള്ളികളാണു". ൫൦,൦൦൦ പറ നെല്ലുള്ളവർക്കുപോലും അതു" പത്തായത്തിൽ ഇട്ടുപൂട്ടുകയല്ലാതെ വില്പാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതായിരിക്കുന്നു. വാങ്ങാൻ ആളില്ല. വില കുറച്ചുകൊടുക്കാമെന്നുപറഞ്ഞാലും ആർക്കുംവേണ്ട. അതിനാൽ നികുതി കൊടുക്കാൻപോലും വകയില്ലാതെ വസ്തുക്കൾ ലേലംചെയ്തുതുടങ്ങുന്നു. നികുതി കൊടുക്കാത്തവർ അത്യാവശ്യമായ കടപ്പുലിശ എങ്ങിനെ കൊടുത്തുതീർക്കും? കൂറിച്ചുമതലകൾ എങ്ങിനെ നിവ്വഹിക്കും. ഈ ജനങ്ങളെ രക്ഷിക്കാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു എന്തു ചെയ്യു? ഒരു കിസ്തു എങ്കിലും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുവിട്ടുകൊടുക്കയുണ്ടായൊ? ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു കിട്ടാനുള്ളതിൽ ഒരു പൈയുംകുറയില്ലാതെ അവർക്കു കിട്ടും. പോരെങ്കിൽ ചിലർക്കു കൂട്ടിയും തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുണ്ടു". അവർക്കു എത്രവേണമെങ്കിലും കൂട്ടിക്കൊള്ളട്ടെ! എനിക്കു വിരോധമില്ല. വേണമെങ്കിൽ ടഷറി ബഞ്ചിലുള്ള എല്ലാവർക്കും ശമ്പളം കൊടുത്തുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. പക്ഷെ കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തു" അതിനുള്ള ധനസ്ഥിതി അവർ ഉണ്ടാക്കട്ടെ. അതു അവർ ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടു" മാസം ൫,൪൦൦ രൂപാശമ്പളംവാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളട്ടെ, ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു ഞങ്ങൾ ൫,൪൦൦ രൂപാവീതംകൊടുക്കുന്നുവെന്നു പറയുന്നതു" എനിക്കു അഭിമാനകരമല്ല! ക്ഷാമംകൊണ്ടു വലയുന്ന ജനങ്ങൾക്കു" ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു എന്തെങ്കിലും രക്ഷചെയ്യാതെ നികുതി തരുന്നതിനു അവരെ ഉപദ്രവിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു ഒട്ടും നികുതി കിട്ടുന്നതല്ലെന്നു" ഞാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ ഓർമ്മപ്പെടുത്തുന്നു. നിങ്ങളെ പുലർത്താൻ രാപ്പകൽ വേലചെയ്യുവിയർപ്പു ഒഴുക്കി പണംആയച്ചുതരുന്നവർക്കു" ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ എന്തെങ്കിലും രക്ഷചെയ്യുവാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു" ആലോചിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിൽനിങ്ങൾ അവരുടെഅടുക്കലേക്കു പോകേണ്ടതായിവരുമെന്നു" നല്ലവണ്ണം ഓർമ്മവേണം. ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾക്കു ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ കാറിൽ സഞ്ചരിക്കാൻ സൌകര്യമില്ലെങ്കിൽ മഞ്ചലെങ്കിലും സൌകര്യപ്പെടുത്തി ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ ഒന്നു ചുറ്റി സഞ്ചരിക്കണമെന്നാണു" ഞാൻ വിണ്ടും പറയുന്നതു".

ഇനി എനിക്കു" പറയുവാനുള്ളതു" ജനറൽ ആശുപത്രിയെപ്പറ്റിയാണ". അവിടെ രോഗികളെ കിടത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നതു" വരാന്തയിലും മറ്റുമാണു". ഈ ജനറൽ ആശുപത്രിക്കായി അനവധി പണം ചിലവാക്കിയിട്ടും ഇനിയും അവിടെ സ്ഥലം മതിയായിട്ടില്ലെന്നവന്നാൽ കഷ്ടമാണു". പനമ്പുകൊണ്ടു

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ണ്ടാക്കിയ തട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു മറച്ചു് രോഗികളെ വരാന്തയിലും മറ്റും കിടത്തുവാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു് തോന്നിയതു് കഷ്ടംതന്നെ. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തെ പ്രധാനപ്പെട്ട ജനറൽ ആശുപത്രിയിൽ രോഗികൾക്കു് സുഖമായി കിടക്കുവാൻ സൌകര്യമില്ലെന്നു വരുന്നതു് പോരായ്മയാണു്. ചീഫ് മെഡിക്കൽ ഓഫീസർ ഇതിൽ കുറക്കാരനല്ല. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഈ സംഗതി പ്രത്യേകം നോട്ടചെയ്തു് അടിയന്തിരമായി എന്തെങ്കിലും ഏർപ്പാടു ചെയ്യണം. ഞാൻ എന്റെ നാട്ടിലെ ആശുപത്രിയെപ്പറ്റി ഇപ്പോൾ ഒന്നും പറയുന്നില്ല.

എനിക്കു് ദിവാൻജി അവർകളോടു് ഒരു കാര്യം പ്രത്യേകം പറയുവാനുണ്ടു്. അതായതു്, ഇലക്ട്രിക് സ്കീം നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശമുണ്ടെന്നു് പറഞ്ഞുവല്ലൊ. ചാലക്കുടിക്കു് ഒരു ശാപമുണ്ടു്. Tanneries, Potteries, White Elephant (എന്നു പലെ പ്രാവശ്യവും ഈ സഭയിൽ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള Tramways) ഇതുകളുടെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ സ്ഥിതി നല്ലവണ്ണം നോക്കണം. ഈ സംഗതികൾക്കു് പ്രവേശിച്ചവരെല്ലാം ചീത്തപ്പെട്ടു. നല്ലവണ്ണം സൂക്ഷിച്ചു പ്രവേശിക്കാവു. ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ മുൻഗാമികളെപോലെ ചീത്തപ്പെടേണ്ടതായി വരും.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. മുഹമ്മദ് സീതി.—ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു് അതായതു് കാലങ്ങളിലെ ദിവാൻജിമാരുടെ ഉപദേശത്തിന്റെ സ്വഭാവമനുസരിച്ചാണു് പ്രജകൾക്കു് ഗുണവും ദോഷവും ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി നമുക്കു് അനുഭവപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനെ നാം അഭിനന്ദിക്കുമ്പോഴെല്ലാം ദിവാൻജി അവർകളേയും അഭിനന്ദിക്കുന്നതായി വേണം അർത്ഥമാക്കേണ്ടതു്. പ്രത്യേകിച്ചും ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജി അവർകളുടെ പൂർവ്വഗാമിയായിരുന്ന മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. എസ്സ്. നാരായണയ്യർ ഈ കൌൺസിലിലെ തന്റെ അന്ത്യ പ്രസംഗം നിർവഹിച്ചയവസരത്തിൽ ഈ നാട്ടുകാർക്കു് ഫാ കൊല്ലകാലത്തേയ്ക്കു് ഭരണസംബന്ധമായയാതൊരു പരിഷ്കാരവും അനുവദിക്കാൻ നിവർത്തിയില്ലെന്നു പ്രവചിച്ചിട്ടാണു് ഈ പ്ലാറ്റ്ഫാറത്തിൽനിന്നും ഇറങ്ങിപ്പോയതു്. ആ ദീർഘദർശനം പത്തുകൊല്ലമല്ല പത്തുമാസം കഴിയുന്നതിനു മുമ്പു് അർത്ഥശൂന്യവും അടിസ്ഥാനരഹിതവും ആണെന്നു് പ്രത്യക്ഷമാക്കിയ ഇന്നത്തെ ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾ പ്രത്യേകം അനുമോദനാർഹനാകുന്നു. മിസ്റ്റർ നാരായണയ്യർ ഈ ദീർഘദർശനം ചെയ്ത കാലത്തു് സ്ഥലത്തെ ഒരു വർത്തമാനപ്പത്രം, ഈ ദീർഘദർശനം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സ്വന്തനിലയിൽ ചെയ്ത ദീർഘദർശനമാണെന്നും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ പ്രതിനിധ്യം വഹിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് ചെയ്തതല്ലെന്നും പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിരുന്നതു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജിയുടെ ഈ വിഷയകമായ പ്രവർത്തികൊണ്ടു് അനുഭവപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ മറ്റൊരു നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളിലും ഇല്ലാത്ത ഈ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരംഈ ദിവാൻജിഅവർകളുടെ മഹാമനസ്കതകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്നു് തർക്കമറ്റ സംഗതിയാണു്, ഇംഗ്ലീഷ്കാർക്കു ഭാവനാശക്തിയില്ലെന്നു് സാധാരണയായി അവരെക്കുറിച്ചു ഒരു ആക്ഷേപമുള്ളതാണു്. പൌരസ്ത്യർക്കു മാത്രമെ ഭാവനാശക്തി ഉള്ളുവെന്നു പറയുന്നതു വാസ്തവത്തിൽ നമ്മുടെരാജ്യത്തുണ്ടായ നമ്മുടെ ദിവാൻജിമാരുടെ പ്രവർത്തികളും ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജിയുടെ പ്രവർത്തികളും ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ്കാരിൽ ഭാവനാശക്തിയുള്ള പലരും ഉണ്ടെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. നിസ്സാരമായ സഹായങ്ങൾ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ചെയ്തുകൊടുത്തു അവരുടെ കൃതജ്ഞത സമ്പാദിക്കുവാൻ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്ന ജനങ്ങളെ യഥാകാലങ്ങളിൽ സഹായിക്കുവാൻ നാട്ടുകാരേക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ ഭാവനാശക്തിയും മഹാമനസ്കതയും ഒരു ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാരനുണ്ടാകാമെന്നു നമുക്കു

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അനാവശ്യപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഒരു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടിപ്രസിഡെണ്ടിനെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കാൻ അധികാരംകൊടുത്തത ഒരു വലിയകാര്യമാണെന്നു വിചാരിക്കാൻ തക്ക മൗഢ്യം എനിക്കില്ല. എന്നാൽ ചില സന്ദർഭങ്ങളിൽ ചെറിയ സംഭവങ്ങളും വലിയ കാര്യങ്ങളായി ജനങ്ങളും ഗണിക്കാറുണ്ട്. കുറച്ചു വിവേകമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ആ സന്ദർഭങ്ങളും എളുപ്പത്തിൽ കണ്ടുപിടിക്കാം. നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിൽ ജനിച്ചുവളർന്ന നാട്ടുകാരായ ദിവാൻജിമാർക്ക് ഇത്രപോലും സാധിച്ചില്ലല്ലൊ എന്നാണു ഞാൻ വ്യസനിക്കുന്നതു. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജിയുടെ ഈ കൃത്യത്തെ ഞാൻ സന്തോഷത്തോടെ അഭിനന്ദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഇത്രയും കുറഞ്ഞ കാലത്തിനിടയ്ക്ക് ദിവാൻജിഅവർകൾ ചെയ്ത നല്ലകാര്യങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ്കാർ നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിൽ ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള പല ദുഷ്പ്രവൃത്തികളേയും വിസ്മരിച്ച് അവരേ സ്തുതിക്കുവാൻതോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നു.

ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ രണ്ടുമൂന്നു പ്രധാന സംഗതികൾ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇതേവരെ ഇടവിടാതെ കൗൺസിലിൽ ചെയ്ത മുറവിളികളുടെ ചില ഫലങ്ങൾ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്". എത്രയോ കൊല്ലമായി പഞ്ചായത്തും കൃഷി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടും വിഭാവിക്കണമെന്ന് ഞങ്ങൾ മുറവിളികൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. പഞ്ചായത്തുമെംബർമാരുടെ പ്രവർത്തികൾ നോക്കുന്നതിനു കൃഷിക്കാര്യങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു സാധിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നു കൃഷിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു അദ്ധ്യക്ഷൻ പ്രത്യക്ഷമാക്കീട്ടുള്ളതാണു". രണ്ടു ജോലി ഉള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു ഒന്നും അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു ശരിക്കുചെയ്വാൻ സാധിച്ചിരുന്നില്ല. സ്പെഷ്യൽ ഫിനാൻസ്സുകമ്മിറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടിലും അതിന്റെ വിഭാജനത്തെ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്നു. സ്പെഷ്യൽ ഫിനാൻസ്സുകമ്മിറ്റിറിപ്പോർട്ടിനെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള ആഡേഴ്സ് പാസ്സാക്കിയപ്പോഴും ആ കാര്യം അസാദ്ധ്യമാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞു. എന്നാൽ ആ കാര്യത്തിലും താമസം കാലയുക്തമായ ഒരു വിഭാജനം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നു. പഞ്ചായത്തു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുമ്പോൾ അതിന്റെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മേധാവിയെപ്പറ്റി രണ്ടുവാക്കു പറയാതെ ഞാൻ കടന്നുപോകുന്നതു ശരിയല്ലെന്നു ഞാൻ കരുതുന്നു. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും മറവുള്ളതു പോലെയുള്ള ആളുകൾ വേണമെന്നു ചിലർ പറയുന്നു. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഈ വാദം കേവലം അത്മനൈന്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. ഈ ചുരുങ്ങിയ കാലത്തിനിടയ്ക്ക്, ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ രജിസ്ട്രാരുടെനിയമനം ഏറ്റവുംഉത്തമമായി എന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സമർത്ഥമായ പ്രവൃത്തികൾകൊണ്ടു തെളിയിക്കാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഉറങ്ങിക്കിടന്ന പല പഞ്ചായത്തുകളേയും അദ്ദേഹം തട്ടിയുണർത്തി. പഞ്ചായത്തുകാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങളെന്തെല്ലാമെന്നു അദ്ദേഹം അവരോടു ചോദിച്ചു അറിഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. പല പഞ്ചായത്തുകളും അവരുടെ ആവശ്യം പറയുന്നില്ലെന്നു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ രജിസ്ട്രാർ പരാതിപ്പെടുന്നതുകേൾക്കാൻ എനിക്കു സംഗതിയായിട്ടുണ്ട്. എത്രയും ഉത്സാഹത്തോടുകൂടി ജനങ്ങളുടെ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ശ്രദ്ധ പതിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്റെ നിയമനം അനാവശ്യമായ പ്രോഭയെന്നു് പറയുന്നവർ, ജാതിവേണ്ട, പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദംവേണ്ട എന്നുപറയുന്നവരാണെന്നതാണ് കഷ്ടാൽകഷ്ടതരം. ഇവരാണെങ്കിൽ ലോകത്തുള്ള സർവ്വ അസമത്വങ്ങളും പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദങ്ങളും ജാതിവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളും കളയണമെന്നു പറയുന്നവരാണ്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ പഞ്ചായത്തുവിഭാജനം വളരെനന്നായി. വിഭാജന കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള അസംബ്ലിയുടെ നിയമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്റെ നിയമനവും വളരെനന്നായി. മേലാലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രവർത്തികൾ കൂടുതൽ ഗുണമായ

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അഭിവൃദ്ധിയെ പ്രാപിക്കുമെന്നു് ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കയും നാട്ടുകാക്കു് അനുഗ്രഹപ്രദമായിത്തീരട്ടെ എന്നു് ആശംസിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്നു.

ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജിഅവർകളുടെ വരവിനുശേഷം ജനങ്ങളുടെ നിലവിളിക്കു് എന്തെങ്കിലുംപരിഹാരം ഉണ്ടാകാതിരിക്കയില്ലഎന്നു് പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെഇടയിൽ ഒരു സാമാന്യവിശ്വാസം ജനിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

കള്ളുഷാപ്പുകാക്കു് കിസ്തു് ഇളവുചെയ്യുകൊടുത്ത സംഗതിയും പ്രത്യേകം ഓർമ്മിക്കത്തക്കതാണു്. അക്കാര്യത്തിലും ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജി ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിനന്ദനത്തെ അർഹിക്കുന്നു. അതും ഒരു വലിയകാര്യമാണു്. ജനങ്ങൾ എത്രതന്നെ മുറവിളികൂട്ടിയിട്ടും ഇതിനുമുമ്പിലത്തെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഒരു പൈപോലും വിട്ടുതന്നിട്ടില്ലായിരുന്നു.

ജലസംഭരണം സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഇരിഗേഷൻ വകുപ്പു് പുതുതായി സ്ഥാപിച്ചു് ഒരു അസ്സിസ്റ്റാൻറു് എഞ്ചിനീയരെ പ്രത്യേകം വച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതും ഒരു പുതിയ ഭരണ പരിഷ്കാരംതന്നെ. കൃഷിആവശ്യത്തിനുള്ള ജലസംഭരണച്ചുമതലകൾ ഒരു പ്രത്യേക വകുപ്പിലായിരിക്കണമെന്നും ഈകൌൺസിൽ വളരെനാളായി നിർബ്ബന്ധിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നതാണു്. അക്കാര്യത്തിലും മുമ്പിലത്തെ ഗവമ്മെൻറുകൾ പഴയ യാഥാസ്ഥിതികതത്വംതന്നെ അവലംബിച്ചിരുന്നതല്ലാതെ ഫലം ഉണ്ടായില്ല. നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെൻറുകൾ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായംകേട്ടു് മുമ്പോട്ടുപോകുന്നതു് പ്രയാസമാണു്. ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യമനുസരിച്ചു് ഒരടി മുമ്പോട്ടുവയ്ക്കാൻ അവക്കു് സാധിക്കയില്ല. കേവലം അചേതനവസ്തുക്കളായിട്ടാണു് അവർ പെരുമാറീട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഇതും സാധ്യമാണെന്നു പ്രവർത്തികളാൽ കാണിച്ചു ദിവാൻജിയോടു് എനിക്കു് അളവറ്റ കൃതജ്ഞതയുണ്ടു്.

ഒരു കാര്യം സമ്മതിക്കാതെ തരമില്ല. ചിലവുചെയ്യണമെന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ വരവിനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളും കാണിക്കണം. വരവിനേയും ചിലവിനേയുംപറ്റി പറയുന്നതിനുമുമ്പുതന്നെ വരവിൻെറ വലിയ ഒരു ഇനം കുറയ്ക്കണമെന്നാണു് ഒന്നാമതായി വാദിക്കുന്നതു്. അതായതു് മദ്യവർജ്ജനം ചെയ്യണമെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. എൻെറ പൂർണ്ണമായ വിശ്വാസം ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൻെറ സാമ്പത്തികമായ അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കും ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികമായ ഉൽകൃഷ്ടത്തിനും ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൻെറ യഥാർത്ഥമായ ഭരണത്തിനും എക്സൈസു് വകുപ്പു കൊണ്ടുള്ള ആദായം ഇല്ലാതാക്കണമെന്നാണു്. എക്സൈസു്വകുപ്പിൽനിന്നുള്ള ആദായങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ഫ ഫ ലക്ഷംരൂപാ ഗവമ്മെൻറിലേയ്ക്കു നഷ്ടത്തിനിടയാകുമായിരിക്കാം. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ക്ഷേമത്തിനാണു് ഗവമ്മെൻറു പണം ശേഖരിക്കുന്നതു്. അവരുടെ ഐശ്വര്യത്തിനും ഏക യോഗക്ഷേമമായ ജീവിതത്തിനുംവേണ്ടിയാണു് ഈ പണം വിനിയോഗിക്കേണ്ടതു്. എന്നാൽ ഈ വകുപ്പിലെ ടാക്സുകൊണ്ടു് ദുഷ്പ്രവർത്തികൾക്കു് പാസ്പോർട്ടുകൊടുക്കയാണുചെയ്യുന്നതു. മദ്യവർജ്ജനം ചെയ്യാൻ ഒരു നിയമത്തിൻെറ സഹായം ഏറ്റവും അത്യാവശ്യമായിത്തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടുള്ള നഷ്ടം അതു വലിയൊരു നഷ്ടമാണെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു് ശരിയല്ല. അതു് ഫ ഫ—ഓ ഫ—ഓ ലക്ഷം രൂപാ ആകുന്നു. ഈ നഷ്ടത്തെ പരിഹരിക്കാൻ ഇതരമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ കണ്ടുപിടിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളെ എല്ലാം ഭരണഭാരങ്ങളിൽ പങ്കുകൊള്ളാൻപ്രേരിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. ഒരു ധനകാര്യ വിദഗ്ദ്ധനായ അടുത്തിലെ മാന്യമെംബർ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു് എല്ലാവർക്കും ഒരുപോലെ ഭരണഭാരം നിർവ്വഹിക്കാനുള്ള സൗകര്യമുണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നാണു്. അങ്ങിനെ ആണെങ്കിൽ കൃഷിവലന്മാർ നികുതികൊടുത്തു കുഴങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു. കൃഷിക്കാരല്ലാത്ത അനവധി ആളുകൾ കൃഷിക്കാരേക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ ആദായമെടുത്തു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു ഒന്നും കൊടുക്കാതെ സ്വസ്ഥമായി ഈ രാജ്യത്തു കഴിച്ചു

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കൂട്ടുന്നുണ്ട്. കൃഷിക്കാരേക്കാൾ ആദായകരമായ തൊഴിലിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഇവർക്കു കഴിയുന്നതും വേഗത്തിൽ ആദായ നികുതി ചുമത്തേണ്ടതാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനു വേണ്ടിയും മറ്റുള്ളവർക്കു വേണ്ടിയും ഇവർ കുറെ അസൗകര്യങ്ങൾ സഹിച്ചു—അസൗകര്യം നേരിട്ടും—രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പൊതു ക്ഷേമത്തെ നോക്കി ആ അസൗകര്യങ്ങളെ വിസ്മരിക്കയും ഗവൺമെണ്ടിലേക്കു ആദായനികുതികൊടുക്കയും ചെയ്യണം. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ആദായനികുതി ഉണ്ട്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഇൻഡ്യയിലും ഉണ്ട്. ആ രാജ്യങ്ങളിലെ സ്ഥിതിയും ഇവിടത്തെ സ്ഥിതിയും തമ്മിൽ വ്യത്യാസമില്ല. അതിനാൽ ആദായനികുതിയെ ഒരിക്കലും വിസ്മരിക്കാൻ പാടില്ല. മറ്റുസ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും ആദായനികുതി കൊടുത്തുവരുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ ആദായനികുതികൊണ്ടു എക്സ്ചെക്വർ വകയ്ക്കു നഷ്ടപ്പെടുമെന്നുള്ള ദോഷം പരിഹരിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതാണ്. അതിനാൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തു നാം ചെയ്യാനുള്ളതു് ചിലവിൽ ഇന്നതു ചുരുക്കാൻ കഴിയും എന്നു കണ്ടുപിടിക്കാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുകയാകുന്നു. അതിനെപ്പറ്റി പലരുംപറഞ്ഞു കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഞാൻ അവരുടെ ആ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളോടു യോജിക്കയാണ് ചെയ്യുന്നതു്.

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവകുപ്പിനെപ്പറ്റി രണ്ടുവാക്കു പറയാം. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവകുപ്പിനുള്ള ചിലവാണ് കൊല്ലംതോറും കൂടിക്കൂടി വരുന്നതു്. ഇപ്പോൾ ൧൬ ലക്ഷമായിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ചിലവു ഒരിക്കലും അനാവശ്യമാകുന്നതല്ല. ആവശ്യത്തിൽ അതിന്റെ അനുഭവം ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. എത്രയോ ആളുകളാണ് ഈ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും കൊല്ലന്തോറും പുറത്തു വന്നു ജീവിക്കാൻ തൊഴിലില്ലാതെ ജീവിതത്തിൽ നൈരാശ്യത്തോടുകൂടിയിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ബി. എ. ക്കാക്കു അന്തസ്സും ധാടിയും ഉള്ളകാലം കഴിഞ്ഞു. ഇപ്പോൾ ബി. എ. ക്കാരിൽ പ-ഓ, ന-ഓ ആളുകൾ First grade കൗൺസ്സുബിഡ്മാരായി ചേന്തായി കഴിഞ്ഞ ഒരു ഗസറ്റിൽ കണ്ണുകയുണ്ടായി. ഇപ്പോൾ ഉപജീവനത്തിനു് എന്തെങ്കിലും ഒരു ജോലി കിട്ടിയാൽ മതിയെന്നുള്ള പതന അതിലായിരിക്കുന്നു ബി. എ. ക്കാരുടെ സ്ഥിതിയും. ഈ നിലക്കു് ൧൬ ലക്ഷം രൂപാ നാം ചിലവു ചെയ്തിട്ടു എന്തു പ്രയോജനം? ദാരിദ്ര്യത്തിൽ നിന്നും ജീവനെ രക്ഷിക്കാൻ ഈ വിദ്യാസമ്പന്നക്കു സാധ്യമല്ലാതായിത്തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. അതിനാൽ ഇന്നത്തെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഗുണം ഉണ്ടാക്കാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗത്തിൽ കൂടി നയിക്കാൻ പ്രത്യേകം ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഈ കാര്യം ഇപ്പോൾ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ അന്വേഷണം ചെയ്യുവരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. അന്വേഷണം പൊതുജനത്തിൽ കഴിഞ്ഞുണ്ടാകുന്നുള്ളതു അതിന്റെ ഫലം വേഗം ജനങ്ങളെ അറിക്കാനുള്ളതും ആണ്. സ്പെഷ്യൽ ഫിനാൻസ് കമ്മിറ്റി നിശ്ചയിച്ച അതിന്റെ റിപ്പോർട്ട് സംഗ്രഹിക്കാൻ കുറെക്കാലം വേണ്ടിവന്നു. അതിന്മേലുള്ള ആഡേഴ്സ പാസ്സാക്കാൻ അതിലുമധികം കാലതാമസം വേണ്ടിവന്നു. അതുപോലെ വച്ചുതാമസിപ്പിക്കാനുള്ള ഒരു കാര്യമല്ല ഇതെന്നു് പ്രത്യേകം ഓർമ്മപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

നാട്ടിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ സർവ്വത്ര ഭയങ്കരമായി ബാധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷാമത്തിനു് എന്തെങ്കിലും ശരിയായ ഒരു പരിഹാരം ഉടനെ ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാണ്. എന്റെ പൂർണ്ണവിശ്വാസം അതു് ദൈവനൃമെമ്പറിനു് അറിയാൻ സാധിക്കുമെന്നാണ് നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തെ പൂരാതന ജന്മികളുടെ വസ്തുക്കൾ പോലും നികുതിക്കായി ജപ്തിചെയ്തു വിറ്റുവരുന്നു. ചേരാനെല്ലൂർ ജന്മിയായ കത്താവിന്റെ വസ്തുക്കൾ പോലും നികുതിക്കുവേണ്ടി വിറ്റു എന്നു കേൾക്കുമ്പോൾ സാധാരണക്കാരുടെ നില ചിന്തിക്കാൻപോലും വഹിയാ. അതിനെ തട

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യാൻ നിവർത്തിയില്ല. ജനങ്ങൾ വളരെ ദാരിദ്ര്യം അനുഭവിച്ചുവരുന്നുണ്ട്. നികുതികൊടുക്കാൻ നിവർത്തിയില്ലാതെ ജന്മിയും സകലരും കഴങ്ങുന്നു. നികുതികൊടുക്കാൻ വിഷമിക്കുന്നവർ കടപ്പലിശ എത്രത്തോളം കൊടുത്തു തീർക്കാൻ പ്രാപ്തരാകുമെന്നു് ഓരോരുത്തരും ഉൗഹിക്കയാണു് നല്ലതു്. കുറികൾ നിർത്താൻ പാടില്ലാത്തവിധം അസൌകര്യമായ കുറേകളാണുള്ളതെന്നു ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു പറയുന്നു. അതു് അടിസ്ഥാനമില്ലാത്ത ഒരു വാദമാണെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു പറയുന്ന വിഷമങ്ങളൊന്നും ഇല്ല. ഏതെങ്കിലും വിധത്തിൽ കുറിയുടെ കാര്യം ആലോചിക്കണമെന്നു പ്രത്യേകം ഞാൻ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നു. ആലോചിച്ചാൽ മാർഗ്ഗമുണ്ടാകും. കുറിയിൽ ചേർന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ചിറ്റാളന്മാരിൽ ഒരു വലിയ വിഭാഗമെന്നു, കുറികൾ നിർത്താൻ ആലോചിച്ചു വരുന്നുണ്ടു്. കുറികളിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ചിറ്റാളന്മാരും കൈക്കാരന്മാരും കൂടി കുറി നിർത്തിവെയ്ക്കാൻ തീർപ്പു ഉണ്ടാക്കിയാൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു അതിനു അനുവാദമെങ്കിലും കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു് ഇന്നത്തെ നിലക്കു ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ധർമ്മമാണു്. അതിലേക്കു പ്രത്യേകം വല്ല വ്യവസ്ഥകളും വക്കുക.

ഭൂനികുതി ഇളവു ചെയ്യുന്നകാര്യവും പ്രത്യേകം ആലോചിക്കത്തക്കതാണു്. നികുതി കാര്യത്തിൽ ജനങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളെപ്പറ്റി അന്വേഷിച്ചു അക്കാര്യത്തിലും എന്തെങ്കിലും സഹായം ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ചെയ്യാതിരിക്കാൻ ഇന്നത്തെ നില അനുവദിക്കുന്നതല്ല.

ഈ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പ്രധാന ധനാഗമ മാർഗ്ഗമാണു് കൃഷി. രാജ്യത്തിലെ കൃഷി അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്താനാണു് ഒരു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു കാര്യക്ഷമമായി ജോലിചെയ്താൽ രാജ്യത്തിലെ വിളവു അധികമാക്കാനും കൃഷി അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്താനും സാധിക്കുന്നതാണു്. കൃഷികൊണ്ടു ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഉപകാരമുണ്ടാകണമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടി ൫,൦൦൦ രൂപാ—അതു് എത്രയും ലഘുവായ ഒരു സംഖ്യയാണെങ്കിലും—താലൂക്കു തോറും ജനങ്ങൾക്കു കൃഷി സംബന്ധമായ ബോധമുണ്ടാക്കാനായി ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ ചേർത്തുകാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. ആ സംഖ്യ ഏതു വിധത്തിലാണു് ബുദ്ധിപൂർവ്വകമായി ഉപയോഗിക്കേണ്ടതെന്നു ഈ നിയമസഭയിലെ അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പർമാരുമായി സഹകരിച്ചു ആലോചിച്ചു കഴിയുന്നതും വേഗത്തിൽ കൃഷിസ്കീമുണ്ടു് വിനിയോഗിക്കണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുന്നു. അതിനു് അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പർമാരുടെ സഹായം ചോദിക്കേണ്ടതായി വരുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല.

എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലമായ മുസ്ലീം സമുദായത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചാണു് എനിക്കു ഇനി പറയാനുള്ളതു. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ സംബന്ധമായും പൊതുവെ പ്രത്യേകം ചില സൌജന്യസഹായങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്ന നിലയിലാണു് ഇന്നു മുസൽമാൻമാർ കഴിയുന്നതു. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസകാര്യത്തിനു മുസ്ലിമങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടി പ്രോത്സാഹനം ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു തീർപ്പുപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആ നയം ഇപ്പോഴത്തെക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായി പ്രവൃത്തിയിൽ കാണിക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. അറബി മുൻഷിമാരുടെ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ എന്തെങ്കിലും ഒരു പരിഷ്കാരം ചെയ്യണമെന്നു ഈ കൌൺസിലിനകത്തും പുറത്തുമായി മുസ്ലിം സമുദായം അപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടും ഇതുവരെ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. ഒരു അദ്ധ്യാപകൻ മുസ്ലീം ആയ കാരണത്താൽ കുടിക്കേണ്ടാന്നു വന്നുകൂടുന്നതായാൽ അതു ഒരിക്കലും നീതികരിക്കത്തക്കതല്ല ഒരു അദ്ധ്യാപകനു ജീവിക്കാൻ വേണ്ട ശമ്പളമെങ്കിലും കൊടുക്കണമെന്നാണു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു. പത്തു രൂപാ മുതൽക്കു താഴെയും കുടുംബത്തിന്റെയും ചിലവു നടത്താൻ ഒരു വിധത്തിലും മതിയാകയില്ലെന്നു തീർപ്പുയാണു്. അതിനാൽ ജീവകാരുണ്യമു

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ള്ള ഒരു ശവമ്മെണ്ടു അയാളുടെ ജീവിതത്തിനുള്ള തുക എങ്കിലും ശമ്പളമായി കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു വേണ്ടി മുസ്ലീം സമുദായത്തിനു് കൊടുപ്പാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന സഹായം അതിനു ശരിയായി ലഭിക്കുന്നില്ല, എന്നുള്ളതും ശവമ്മെണ്ടു പ്രത്യേകം ശ്രദ്ധിക്കേണ്ടതാണു.

മുസ്ലീം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടി ഒരു മുസ്ലീം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസക്കമ്മിറ്റി ശവമ്മെണ്ടു രൂപീകരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു. ശവമ്മെണ്ടു ഈ കമ്മിറ്റിയെ ഇതേവരെ വേണ്ടവിധത്തിൽ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. അതു ഉടൻ പുനഃസംഘടിപ്പിച്ചു് മുസ്ലീം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസാർത്ഥം അതിനെ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കണം. ആ കമ്മിറ്റി ചെയ്ത ശിപാർശകളിൽ മിക്കവയേയും കുറിച്ചു ശവമ്മെണ്ടു ഇതേവരെ ശ്രദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഈ സംഗതികളിലും ഉദ്യോഗദാന വിഷയത്തിലും മുസ്ലീങ്ങൾക്കു് ആക്ഷേപമുണ്ടു. ഇവിടെ ശരിയായ പ്രോത്സാഹനം ലഭിക്കായ്കയാൽ ബിരുദധാരികളായ മുസ്ലീം യുവാക്കന്മാരിൽ പലരും ഇതിനു മുമ്പു് ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൽ പോയി ശരണം പ്രാപിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു. ഇപ്പോൾ പുതുതായി നിയമിക്കാൻ പോകുന്ന എക്സൈസ്സ സബ്ബിൽ ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരുടെ ജോലിക്കായും ഒരു മുസ്ലീം അപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതും കൂടി കിട്ടിയില്ലെങ്കിൽ അയാൾ ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗം അന്വേഷിച്ചു് അന്യരാജ്യങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്കു പോകേണ്ടി വരും. അതിനാൽ മുസ്ലീം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസകാര്യത്തിലും ഉദ്യോഗദാനവിഷയത്തിലും പ്രത്യേകം സൌജന്യങ്ങൾ കാണിക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. ശവമ്മെണ്ടു അനുവദിക്കുന്ന സൌജന്യങ്ങൾ കീഴുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർമാരും വേണ്ട വിധത്തിൽ നല്കുന്നുണ്ടോ എന്നു കൂടി ശവമ്മെണ്ടു അന്വേഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. അറബി മൻഷിമാർക്കും കുറാൻ ടീച്ചർമാർക്കും ശമ്പളം കൂട്ടിക്കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു അപേക്ഷിക്കുമ്പോൾ പലപ്പോഴും ഓരോ ഒഴിവുകഴിവുകൾ കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു ശവമ്മെണ്ടു ഒഴിയുകയാണു് ചെയ്യുന്നതു. അതിനാൽ മേലാലെങ്കിലും ഇവരുടെ കാര്യം പ്രത്യേകം ശ്രദ്ധിച്ചു് അറബി മൻഷിമാർക്കു മറവു മൻഷിമാരെപ്പോലെയും കുറാൻ ടീച്ചർമാർക്കു സാധാരണ പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിലെ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരെ പോലെയും ശമ്പളം കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു മുസ്ലീം സമുദായത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ ഞാൻ ശവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിനു വേണ്ടി ആ സമുദായത്തിനു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ രേണുത്താടുള്ള ആദരവിനെയും ദിവാൻജി അവർകളോടുള്ള കൃതജ്ഞതയേയും രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു് തല്ക്കാലം വിരമിക്കുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ ചേമ്പർ ഇട്ടിരവി നമ്പൂതിരി.—ഫാഠ്-ലേക്കു് തയാറാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള ബഡ്ജറ്റു് ഞാൻ നോക്കിയതിൽ ആകപ്പാടെ അതു ശരിയാണൊ എന്നു കൂടി സംശയമുണ്ടു്. വരവും ചിലവും പണമായിട്ടാണു് കൊള്ളിച്ചു വരുന്നതു്. ഇക്കൊല്ലം വരവു പണമാക്കാൻ പ്രയാസമാണു്. പണം ഉണ്ടാക്കാൻ ഈ രാജ്യക്കാർക്കു് ആരും അധികാരം കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. കൃഷി ചെയ്യുക, ഉല്പന്നങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കുക, സാമാനങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കുക അവ കൈയ്യിൽ വെയ്ക്കുക, നികുതിക്കു് വരുമ്പോൾ അതു കൊടുക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതാണു്. ഇങ്ങിനെയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ കൊല്ലത്തെ നികുതിയ്ക്കായി വരുമ്പോൾ അറയുടെ താക്കോലു് കൊടുക്കാതെ കഴികയില്ല. പണം എവിടെയാണെന്നു് ചോദിച്ചാൽ ബാങ്കിലുണ്ടെന്നു് പറയും. നിലങ്ങൾ കൃഷി ചെയ്തു കിട്ടുന്ന നെല്ലു വിറ്റു് നികുതി കൊടുക്കാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. അങ്ങിനെയിരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു കാലത്തു്, പലെ രക്ഷകളും കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു് ചെയ്യേണ്ട ഒരു കാലത്തു് ഒരു രക്ഷയും ശവമ്മെണ്ടു് ചെയ്യാതെ നികുതിയ്ക്കായി ജനങ്ങളെ നിർബ്ബന്ധിക്കുകെ മാത്രം ചെയ്യുന്നപെങ്കിൽ നികുതി കൊടുക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമെയില്ല.

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കള്ളഷാപ്പുകാക്കു" ന്യാ, ൦൦൦ രൂപാ ഇളവു ചെയ്തു കൊടുത്തതിൽ എനിക്കു" ആക്ഷേപമില്ല. ആ വകയിലെ മുഴുവനുമൊ, കൊടുത്തതിൽ ഇരട്ടിയൊ കൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ എനിക്കു" വിരോധമില്ല. ഒരു പതിനായിരമെങ്കിലും (Remuneration) റമ്യൂനറേഷൻ പട്ടരാഴ്മാക്കു" കൊടുക്കാൻ ആലോചന കൂടി ഉണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ അതു കൊടുത്തിട്ടുമില്ല. അതിനു് പ്രത്യേക കാരണം നികുതി മുഴുവൻ കൊടുക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം കുറെ ജന്മികളുടെ പേക്കു്, വലിയ അക്ഷരത്തിൽ പട്ടയങ്ങൾ എഴുതി വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. അവിടെ നികുതിക്കു ചെല്ലുമ്പോൾ അയാൾക്കു് കൊടുക്കാൻ പണം ഇല്ലാത്തതിനാൽ അയാളുടെ എളകുന്ന മുതലുകൾ ജപ്തിചെയ്തു് വസൂലാക്കുന്നു. ഞാൻ പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്ന ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ—ഇന്നത്തെ ദിവസം—എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽപെട്ട ഒരു ജന്മിയുടെ പണ്ടം പാത്രങ്ങൾ നികുതിയ്ക്കായി, ൪,൦൦൦ രൂപയ്ക്കായി, ലേലം ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടാകും. ഞാൻ മിനിയാന്നു് ഇങ്ങോട്ടു പോരുന്നതുവരെ രൂപാ കിട്ടാതെ അദ്ദേഹം എന്റെ പിന്നാലെ തൃശ്ശൂർ വരെ വന്നിരുന്നു. ഈ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളും വിഷമങ്ങളും ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാരെ അറിയിച്ചു" ഈ കർക്കടകമാസം ൩൦-൦൦നു-വരെ ഒരു ഇട കിട്ടണമെന്നു അപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടു. അനുവദിക്കയില്ലെന്നു മാത്രം ഒരു മറുപടി കിട്ടി. ക്ഷാമം ബാധിച്ചു് ജനങ്ങൾ ആസകലം ഒരു പോലെ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു കാലത്തു് നികുതി പിരിവു കാര്യത്തിൽ കണിശം വെയ്ക്കുന്നതായാൽ അടുത്ത ദിവസം ജന്മികൾ കൂലിക്കാരായിപ്പോകും. അവരുടെ വസ്തുക്കൾ മറ്റുള്ളവരുടെ പേരിൽ ആക്കേണ്ടതായി വരും. പക്ഷെ വാങ്ങാൻ ആൾ ഉണ്ടാകുമൊ എന്നും, അതൊ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ പേക്കുതന്നെ വെയ്ക്കേണ്ടിവരുമൊ എന്നും തീർച്ചയായിട്ടില്ല.

ഞാൻ ഒരു കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരനാണെന്നു് ഇവിടെ എല്ലാമെമ്പർമാരും ധരിച്ചുവച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഞാൻ പറയാതിരിക്കയില്ലെന്നും അവർക്കറിയാം. കായ്മും കുറച്ചു വാസ്തവവുമാണു്. ഈ നിലങ്ങളിൽ ൧൦, ൧൦ കൊല്ലത്തിനുമുമ്പു് മുഴുവൻഭാഗവും കൃഷിചെയ്തിരുന്നില്ല. ഒരിക്കൽ കുറച്ചുകൃഷിചെയ്താൽ അടുത്തതവണ അതു തരിശിട്ടു് വേറെഭാഗം കൃഷിചെയ്യുകയായിരുന്നു പതിവു്. സെറ്റിൽമെണ്ടു കാലത്തു് കൃഷിചെയ്യുവന്നതും ചെയ്യാവുന്നതുമായ സ്ഥലങ്ങൾക്കു് സ്ഥിരം നികുതി ചുമത്തി. നികുതി ചുമത്തിയാൽ അതു കൊടുത്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഒരു വലിയ അധർമ്മമാണു്. നമ്പൂരിമാർ സന്ധ്യാവന്ദനം കഴിക്കുന്നതിൽ നിഷ്ഠയുള്ളപോലെയാണു് നികുതി കൊടുക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതും. മുമ്പൊക്കെ ചക്രംവച്ചു ചവിട്ടി വാരിച്ചു" കൃഷിചെയ്യുന്നതിനു ചിലവു ചുരുങ്ങിയിരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ പരിഷ്കാരം വർദ്ധിച്ചു് യന്ത്രങ്ങളും മറ്റും വന്നുകയറി. ചിലവു പതിന്മടങ്ങു കൂടി. വളരെസംഖ്യകടംവാങ്ങി ചിലവെല്ലാംനിർവ്വഹിച്ചു. വിത്തുവിതച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞാൽ ഒന്നുകിൽപുഴക്കേടു്, ചാഴിക്കേടു്, ഇതു രണ്ടുമില്ലെങ്കിൽ വെള്ളമില്ലാതെ കൃഷി ഒണങ്ങുന്നു, എങ്കിലും ഇതെവരെ വിളവുകൊണ്ടതന്നെ ചിലവിനുള്ള കടം വീടാമായിരുന്നു. കൈയ്യിൽനിന്നും കൊടുക്കേണ്ടിവന്നിരുന്നില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ ചിലവിനുപോലും തികയുന്നില്ല. നെല്ലിനുവിലയില്ല. ഈ സ്ഥിതി നീണ്ടുനില്ക്കുന്നപക്ഷം എന്റെ അനുഭവത്തിൽ കാണുന്നതു് മേലാൽ കൃഷിചെയ്തിട്ടു ഫലമില്ലെന്നാണു്. ഒരു ഏക്കർ കൃഷി ചെയ്യണമെന്നുവച്ചാൽ സാധാരണയായി ൩൦ രൂപാ മുതൽ ൫൦ രൂപാവരെ ചിലവാകും. ൧൫൦ പറ നെല്ലുംകിട്ടും. ഇപ്പോൾ ൩൦പറ നെല്ലുവിറ്റാൽ ൪൦-൫൦ ൪൫-൫൦ രൂപാ കിട്ടുന്നകാര്യം വിഷമമാണു്. വിത്തിനു" പറയ്ക്കു് മുക്കാലൊ ഒന്നൊ രൂപാ വില ഉണ്ടാകും. പണിക്കൂലിയും വേണം. ആകെക്കൂടി കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തു് ൧൪,൦൦൦ ഏക്കർ സ്ഥലത്തു" ഈ കൃഷി ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടു്: ഇപ്പോഴത്തെമാതിരി ചിലവു അധികവും വരവു ചുരു

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ക്കവുമായി കൃഷിചെയ്യാൻ യാതൊരു നിവൃത്തിഹവുമില്ലാത്ത നിലയിലെത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. സർക്കാരിൽനിന്നും യാതൊരു ആനുകൂല്യവും ചെയ്യാതിരുന്നാൽ ഈ കുന്നിക്കാർ എല്ലാവരുംചേർന്ന് കൃഷിചെയ്യാതിരിക്കാനും ആലോചിച്ചുവരുന്നുണ്ട്. ഫാമർ മതൽ സർ. എ. ആർ. ബാനർജി ദിവാൻജിയായിരുന്നകാലംമുതൽ ഇപ്പോഴുള്ളവരെയും ഹരജിമൂലവും അപേക്ഷിച്ചുതുടങ്ങിയതാണ്; അതൊക്കെ പണമില്ല എന്നൊരു സമാധാനം പറഞ്ഞു. ആ അപേക്ഷകളെ അവർ വകവെച്ചില്ല. അതിലേക്ക് ഞാനൊരു പുതിയവഴിയാണ് പറയുന്നതു്. പണമൊന്നുംവേണ്ടാ. പണംകൂടാതെ രക്ഷചെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കും. ഞങ്ങളെ ഉപദ്രവിക്കാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് കുറെവെള്ളം കെട്ടിനിറുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. ആ വെള്ളം കളഞ്ഞുതന്നാൽ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ കൃഷിമാറ്റി വേറൊരുവല്ല കൃഷിയുംനോക്കാം. ൪,൦൦൦ രൂപാ ചിലവുചെയ്താൽ ഞങ്ങടെ സാധാരണ കൃഷിക്കാരെപ്പോലെ ഫ്രീ-ഓഫ് ഓ-ഓ രൂപാ ചിലവുചെയ്ത് കൃഷിചെയ്യാം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിലങ്ങടെ പുറമ്പോക്കായി ഇട്ട നികുതി കുറവുചെയ്തുകിട്ടിയാലും ഉപകാരമാണ്. ഈ കാര്യംസംബന്ധിച്ചു ചീഫ് എഞ്ചിനിയരോടും ദിവാൻ പേഷ്കാർ അവർകളോടും ഞാൻ സംസാരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് അതിനെപ്പറ്റി അന്വേഷണം നടത്തുന്നുമുണ്ട്. കൊച്ചുടെ ഗാഢമായ ശ്രദ്ധ അടിയന്തിരമായി ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ പതിപ്പിക്കണമെന്ന് ഞാൻ വീണ്ടും അവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നു.

The House rose for lunch at 2 p. m. and met again at 3 p.m. with the President in the chair.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—Sir, before beginning to lead the discussion on the official side, I humbly request your kind permission to make a personal reference.

I am an old familiar figure in this House and had the good fortune to be associated intimately with the Hon'ble Members of the first two Councils. And now, it is my proud privilege to be associated with the Hon'ble Members of the present Council, most of whom are my old friends. I shall be wanting in courtesy to this House if I do not tender my heartfelt thanks to the Hon'ble Members of the Second Council, who were kind enough to pass unanimously, 30 months ago, a resolution placing on the record of this Council their appreciation of the humble services that it fell to my lot to render to this Council. (*Hear, hear*). During the respite that I had for two years, I travelled practically throughout the whole of India and studied the conditions obtaining in some important Indian States and also interested myself with the working of Popular Assemblies wherever they exist. I also spent a portion of my leisure in studying the Indian Constitutional problems and the working of the provincial and Imperial Legislatures. I may at once say that our Council is not in any way behind the similar institutions in other States. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Do we require more constitutional reforms?

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Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—On the other hand, I can boldly assert that both in point of constitution of the Council and the quality and dignity of discussions and deliberations, we are far ahead of many of them. We heard with admiration and interest the seasoned speeches of our veteran Members and also the maiden speeches of the new Members and appreciated very much the eloquence and force with which they were delivered. Though some of the speeches are very powerful, and I may even say, dynamic, they, all of them, contained very useful suggestions for the improvement of the Administration. I may assure them on behalf of myself and of my friends on this side, that we take all their criticisms in the same good spirit in which they were offered. It is a matter of gratification to us that our veteran Ex-Leader of the Progressive Party and the Deputy President of the House has borne such excellent testimony to the useful work done by the last two Councils, and to the influence for good the discussions in the Council had on the morale of the Administration. The Hon'ble Members of the House have no idea, as one like myself who comes very much in contact with all classes of people has, of the depth of the influence for good that the deliberations in the last two Councils has permeated all ranks, subordinate as well as superior, of our services. The fear that any wrong act done will be exposed in public at the Council has had a very good effect in improving the tone of our Administration. I have heard even villagers in rural parts and also the village officers expressing at times—"നമുക്കിവിടെ കിടക്കണം—അനാവശ്യം ഒന്നും ചെയ്യരുത്—കൌൺസിലിൽ ചോദ്യം വരും". I have no doubt that the Council is exercising a wholesome check on the Administration. I trust that it will be of interest to you if I read out in this connection one or two extracts from a memorandum that I submitted to Government eleven years ago when the Legislative Council Scheme was in its stage of inception. This I wrote 11 years ago:—"Even the worst critic of the existing form of Administration will concede that there exist at present abundant facilities and opportunities for the people to represent their wants and grievances to His Highness, his Diwan and principal Officers and that their representations invariably receive the very best consideration from His Highness downwards. His Highness is always accessible alike to the poorest peasant and the richest jemmi. There is also the eloquent testimony of the Mahajana Sabha that "there exists in the State good understanding between the rulers and ruled and that there is hardly any conflict of interests between them". ....." Therefore what is actually required at present is an organisation with legal status, really representative of all classes of His Highness' subjects, whose main function should be representation in a constitutional manner, with practical suggestions for their removal of all wants

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and grievances of a general nature affecting the common interests of the public. An organisation like this, will, in the discharge of the main function proposed to be assigned to it, naturally come into close touch with every branch of administration, and this will result in the general association of the people with His Highness' Government. Proposing new laws or amendments of the existing ones for the peace and good Government of the State and the welfare and advancement of the people, offering criticisms and advice on administraiive matters considered by the Government necessary to secure the same object, discussing the annual financial statements, assisting Government in distributing the allotments sanctioned for Education, Medical relief and Sanitation, improvement of communications, development of irrigations and aids to local self-government, will be the chief directions in which the representatives of the people can help the Government in the conduct of the Administration".

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It is personally a matter of gratification to me that the object of the Legislative Council, as foreshadowed above, has fulfilled to a very large extent. A great deal more yet remains to be done, and though all will endorse the observations made by the Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda that our Legislative Council is only an infant six years old, I must correct him and say that it is a well developed infant with promise of becoming a vigorous youth in the years to come. The future of Indian States is in the laps of God. Some momentous decisions are sure to be taken during the life time of the present Council. Though our State is small, she has an importance of her own. Our State has been prominently mentioned not only in the Simon Commission Report, but also in the Despatch of the Government India and the proceedings of the last Round Table Conference. It is a well-recognised fact that the Southern Indian States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin are the best administered ones, and that these have functioning in them Representative Assemblies, more or less, of the types of British Indian Legislatures. What type the constitution of the Indian States as units of Federated or Greater India will eventually take, connot now be definitely foreseen. Each unit will probably have to develop in its own way subject to certain general fundamental principles. But it has to be recognised that responsibility cannot be undertaken without previous preparation, and it is my fervent prayer that when the time comes—as everything good in the world is bound to come in due time—our people should be prepared to undertake any amount of responsibility, and I do hope and pray that in fulness of time our State will produce among the non-officials, statesmen and politicians of the type of

Gokhale, Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sapru, Jayakar and Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya.

I do also hope and pray that the Hon'ble Members on the other side will realise that they are also public servants, quite as we on this side are, as all of us are remunerated from the same source—the annual produce of the labour, intellectual, and physical, of the people.

I shall next proceed, Sir, to explain as best as I can a few of the criticisms made by the Hon'ble Members. I confess at the outset that I cannot command their eloquence. There is a tone of pessimissm ringing in some of the speeches, and the hardship consequent on the present economic depression and slump in trade accounts for it. Things are no doubt pretty bad at present, but there is no justification for despair. While prudence in dealing with our public expenditure is necessary, it should not border on parsimony and while caution is required in realising the revenues of the State, we should not be led away by any imaginary fears. Probably we have reached the bottom of depression and are likely to rise up gradually in 1932. Let us be optimistic. There are no reasons to apprehend *now* that the revenues we have budgetted for will not be realised. There may be some appreciable reduction under such items as Abkari, Opium, Ganja. But this has also its bright side, as a good portion now spent in drinking will remain with the people. More than one Hon'ble Member has suggested some remission of land revenue as a measure for ameliorating in part, the economic conditions of the peasants and agriculturists. After all, our permanent land revenue is nearly 12 lakhs which is barely one-seventh of the budgetted revenue of 1107. This is realisable from 82,000 pattadars, of whom 14,000 are our big jenmies and 40,000 hold large extents of Pandaravaka Verumpattom and Pandaravaka Kanom lands. The number of petty pattadars holding lands of their own and paying revenue direct to Government is comparatively small. The incidence of land revenue in the State is very light. I can say from my personal experience that it is very much higher in British India and the other Indian States than in our State. The rates of assessment were fixed in 1081 and the communication rate adopted for paddy at that time was 4 annas seven pies per para and not eight annas as remarked by the Hon'ble Member for Urakam.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—I meant the market rate.

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Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—I thank the Hon'ble Member for the correction. The price of cocoanuts was calculated on a basis of seven annas for 55 nuts. The Hon'ble Members will agree with me that, even now, a very hard time economically, the prices of paddy and cocoanut are much higher. Further, there is no guarantee that the relief, if any, given by way of remission of land revenue will reach the poorer classes.

Mr. Paul Mampilli.—Why?

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—The average that each of the 82,000 pattadars now pay works out roughly at Rs. 15 per head. Sympathy for the agricultural population runs through our veins quite as much as in those of the Hon'ble Members who have advocated remission of revenue. I may assure that if at any time, we are convinced that there is wide spread distress or calamity steps will be taken for granting adequate relief, and I would draw the attention of the House of the provisions in Article 13 of the Land Revenue Manual, in which provision for remission or suspending land revenue in times of wide spread distress or calamity among the land-holders exists. You may remember that when such a wide spread calamity occurred in 1099 on account of the abnormal floods of that year, Government did not hesitate to grant liberal remission to the extent of more than half a lakh of rupees.

Some of the Hon'ble Members have suggested a sort of moratorium for payment of Kuri dues. This is rather a thorny question and I am sure that the Hon'ble Members will recognise that in our attempt to do temporary good to one class of people we should not injure other classes. In the first two years of the outbreak of war, 1914 and 1915, there was economic distress of a more virulent and severe type than now. Even sufficient quantity of rice was not available for the feeding of the "masses". Money was scarce. There was very little demand for our produce. Export trade was sericusly dislocated. There was a demand from some people for establishing a moratorium. The Durbar made very careful enquiries under the guidance of a Diwan, whose sympathy for the people was unbounded. I refer to Sir Joseph Bhore, and we arrived at the conclusion that remedy in the shape of moratorium would do more injury than good. Anyhow, we keep an open mind in this matter and if after watching the condition for the next few months we find that any further action is necessary in this direction, we shall certainly give the subject our best and anxious consideration. (*Hear, hear.*)

Then there is the proposal for retrenchment by way of cuting the salaries of officers put forward by more than one Hon'-

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ble Member. It is the order of the day everywhere now to suggest cuts in salaries. The Government of Madras has taken the question only when they found that the revenues of the first few months of the current financial year went far below their expectations. After all, what reduction in expenditure can be effected by making cuts in the salaries of officers drawing Rs. 100 and above? I have had no time to calculate the reduction that can possibly be effected, but I think it will not amount to more than fifty thousand rupees. Anyhow, our financial conditions have not become so desperate as to adopt this desperate remedy at the present moment. Here also, we may watch the conditions for the next few months and as we go on, if we find that a desperate remedy like this is necessary to maintain the financial equilibrium of the year, the matter will be taken up for serious consideration.

The Hon'ble Member for Nemmara-Tattamangalam constituency sounded a note of warning to me that if our revenue collections are proceeded with stringently the incidents of Pudukkottah may probably occur in this State also and advised me to proceed cautiously.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—On a point of correction. It am the Member for Nemmara.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—Thank you for the correction.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—I represent both. The Hon'ble Member is correct. The Hon'ble Member for Revenue has misunderstood the statement that I made yesterday. I simply meant, just as we see riots in Pudukkottah similar incidents may happen if things do not go on cautiously. I never meant that the same thing would happen here. I may correct him.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—I take his statement for what it is. I do not wish to enter into a controversy with him at present though I can refute it.

I am no doubt very thankful to him, but I must enter a most emphatic protest on behalf of the law abiding, loyal and peaceful landholders of our State for their being compared with the rioters of Pudukkottah. I may mention for the information of the Hon'ble Member that every pie of the current land revenue demand in his constituency has been collected peacefully without any hitch. Only in one case in Mulathura Village where the property is heavily encumbered and the pattadar is a native of Pollachi, we had to resort to the provisions of the Revenue Recovery Regulation. Even in this case also the Hon'ble Member will be glad to hear that the mortgagee, as one interested in the land, has come forward to pay up the amount.

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The Hon'ble Member for Urakam drew the attention of the House to the large number of notifications by the Revenue Officers attaching properties for recovery of land revenue appearing in the Gazette. If he will only kindly look into the matter more deeply and analyse the notifications he will find that a good portion of these relates to the recovery of dues to the Co-operative Societies, rentals of Excise shops and similar non-land revenue items. I may assure the House that coercive measures have not been increased appreciably this year so far as land revenue is concerned. The most hard hit Taluk is Cochin-Kanayannur. The number of processes sent in that Taluk is only 2280 as against 2428, 2003 and 2274 in 1103, 1104 and 1105 respectively. All these are not however for land revenue. Unfortunately I have to mention here with great reluctance and regret that on account of the dissentions in our old aristocratic families and want of proper management and apathy..... .....

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—On account of the Nayar Regulation!

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—..... .... to avail themselves of the provisions for the Joint Registry Regulation, land revenue dues from them is always left in arrears. This has been the feature for the last ten years. I do not wish to mention names. We proceed against the landed properties of pattadars only after giving them sufficient time to pay up the dues and after realising (by begging as it were) as far as possible amicably from the tenants in occupation. Even in such cases, actual confirmation of the sale of lands is very rare. I may say that such cases are only exceptional. The confirmation of sale is vested in me under the provisions of the Revenue Recovery Regulation, and no sale is confirmed without exercising scrupulous scrutiny of the facts. During the last four months that I have now been in charge, land sales have been confirmed only in not more than half a dozen cases and that too only in the case of lands washed away by sea and which have to be treated as droughting lands by Government for satisfying legal requirements. It is the collection of the dues of the Co-operative Societies that give us considerable trouble and drives us at times to sell them for default. This is a direction in which the Hon'ble Members and the public, particularly the Hon'ble Member for Urakam who is known to be a zealous co-operator, can co-operate with us and make the working of co-operative societies a success. The Hon'ble Member for Urakam referred to a case of attachment of land for the recovery of a petty sum of annas 12. I do not know if it is for the collection of land revenue or co-operative dues or any other

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item of revenue. These cases of the sale of lands come up to my consideration only when the stage of confirmation is reached, and I shall be glad to get more particulars from the Hon'ble Member about the particular instance referred to by him so that if possible I may take steps to collect it otherwise.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—I refer to the Chittalappilli case.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—I do not remember to have come across any such item of land revenue arrears at present. The estimated revenue according to revised estimate is Rs. 12,16,200, out of which all but Rs. 10,000 has been realised. The House may take this as a credit or discredit to the working of the Department.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval—I mean you have to do the unpleasant task of collecting the revenues of other departments as well.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar—Yes.

Even though no remission was considered necessary in the case of land revenue we have granted very liberal remissions in the case of fisheries. We have also abolished altogether the rent on some of the minor fisheries. We have also very liberally remitted second crop charges.

Our kistbundy is very elastic and the number of kists is six as against four in the Madras Presidency. The Hon'ble Members may remember that I strongly objected on behalf of the landholders, the proposal of the Special Finance Committee for the reduction of kists to four and my objection prevailed with the Government.

Now with regard to the suggestion of some of the Hon'ble Members to introduce income-tax, I can only say at this stage that the Government will consider it in due and appropriate time.

The Hon'ble Member for Chittur rural constituency—my old friend—has once more referred to his pet subject of the Kanom exclusions of Chittur. The exclusions of Chittur Kanom have a history of their own. I shall attempt to describe here only that of the last quarter of a century. The Chittur Kanom was not only a very valuable teak area but also adaptable eminently for cultivation. The extent was about 4 square miles, lying on the south-easternmost portion of Chittur. A good part of it was convertible into wet and commandable by the Mulathura Irrigation system. Government decided in 1078 to re-afforest the whole area in the interest of forest revenue and the landholders of Chittur vehemently protested against the decision. As a result of this protest an area of about 900 acres was

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decided to be disafforested by Diwan (now Sir) A. R. Banerji in 1085—21 years ago. One of my illustrious predecessor (Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachari, C. I. E., the presents Diwan of Baroda) proposed the following rates of assessment for the disafforested area :—

"In respect of lands capable of being converted into Nilams the assessment will be Rs. 2 per acre for the first year, Rs. 2—8—0 per acre for the second year and Rs. 3—8—0 per acre for the 3rd year and Rs. 5—8—0, the maximum to be paid in the fourth year. This assessment will be exclusive of Thirumulkazhcha and the second crop charges liable under the provisions of the Land Revenue Manual". I would invite the pointed attention of the House to the last class.—" Lands that cannot be converted into Nilams but useful for subsidiary agricultural purposes, will be assessed at Rs. 2—8—0 per acre"

The above rates were accepted by Government and were specifically inserted in the Notification of 1087 and subsequent years announcing the sale of these lands. It was I who conducted the first auction in 1089 of these lands and the Hon'ble Member may accept my assurance that there was absolutely no complaint from any source about the rates of assessment. They were only anxious to get the lands. The paramba or dry a rate of Rs. 2—8—0 per acre was fixed by Mr. Krishnamachari on the consideration of (1) the probable loss of forest revenue to Government by disafforestation and (2) the rate of assessment of similar lands in the taluk (Rs. 2 per acre). These parambas are beautiful blackloam, and if only the cultivators are industrious and enterprising, valuable commercial crops, such as cotton, ground-nut, etc., may be grown. Now the lands have become more valuable by the abolition of monopoly on teak (His Highness the Maharaja's 70th birthday boon). There is a great demand for the lands to grow teak.

Then the people of Chittur were not satisfied with the first instalment of disafforestation and continued to agitate for the complete disafforestation of the area. The matters came to a head in 1096, and the Government accepting my recommendation ordered the disafforestation of the whole area. The same rates of assessment were adopted and notified in the Gazette and there was not a whisper against the rates being excessive. Till now 1930 acres have been assigned, and only about 400 acres more remain to be disposed of, a good portion of which is intended to be reserved as Village Reserves. Out of the 1930 acres assigned 710 acres have been converted into nilams and the remaining 1220 acres stand charged with the dry rate Rs. 2-8-0 per acre. My Hon'ble Member holds an extent of 5 acres

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67 cents of this extent in Perumatty Village.' The individuals in whom the assignments were effected from time to time went in for the lands, knowing fully well the assessment charged and the conditions of sale. I submit, Sir, that it is beyond the range of practical politics to think of any reduction at this distance of time. I do hope that the information that I have now supplied will satisfy the Hon'ble friend. Time is always on the move and in all human probabilty the revision of rates of assessment will have to be taken during the re-settlement operation. I may not be in my place here then, but I am sure my Hon'ble friend will press the matter home and secure the reduction if the then circumstances justify.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Thank you.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—Reference was made by some to the delay in the disposal of forest exclusions in other taluks. All these areas are not yet available for actual assignment as they have not been handed over to the Land Revenue Department after the removal of forest growth. In the case of others, actually available for assignment, the present economic condition does not admit of even the comparatively light rates of land value (Rs. 20 and Rs. 25 per acre) by the adjacent land-holders. Realising that it will be hard to deprive them of the lands forming margins of their old estates which will be the inevitable result of putting up these lands for auction, I have recently obtained the sanction of the Government to collect the land revenue in instalments spreading over a period of three years.

I am very glad that the Hon'ble Member for land-holders has referred to the question of the removal of disabilities of Kole cultivators and the extension of Kuttadan cultivation. The question is engaging the serious consideration of Government. There is no one more interested in helping the Kole cultivators than our present Diwan. At the very first interview that I had with him after I took charge, the first subject to which he drew my attention was Kole cultivation. And I am sure, with the co-operation of Kole cultivators (*Hear, hear*) something tangible can be done in this direction soon. (*Hear, hear*).

I believe I have now dealt with all the criticisms relating to the General and Land Revenue Administration. I have only to close my speech by speaking a few words about the recruitment to public services. Government have always kept in view the fundamental principle that, other qualifications being equal, unrepresented and short represented communities should be given preference in the matter of new appointments. (*Hear, hear*). All of us have loyally carried out this principle and will continue to do so, and my Hon'ble friends on this side of the House will bear me out when I say so.

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Mr. M. K. Raman.—Not all.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—In point of education and culture the people of Cochin are far ahead of other places and communalism was unknown in the past. In the early stages of the working of the Panchayat system of the State, meticulous care was taken to see that all communities, castes and creeds are represented in them. This was our first stage in the development of self-government, and perhaps it will interest you to know what we felt and saw in the early years. I take the liberty to quote the following from my report on the administration of Panchayats for 1094:—

"From the description of the working of the Panchayats given in this report as well as in other official papers of mine, it will be abundantly clear that these small units of local self-government have shown themselves to be real representatives of the people in every sense of the term in the areas in which they exercise jurisdiction. It is to these bodies that the bulk of the population look to at present for the redress of all local grievances and supply of all local wants and requirements. Though the presidents and members are taken from various castes and creeds —I would draw the special attention of the Hon'ble Members to this sentence—though the presidents and members are taken from the various castes and creeds, that circumstance has only resulted in unity of action in matters affecting common interests. They have also proved themselves to be very useful in co-operating with Government in meeting an emergency of the nature that we had to face recently in dealing with the rice situation. I trust that I shall not be considered to be unduly optimistic when I say that the Panchayats furnish excellent materials for laying down a solid foundation for responsible Government in the years to come. This foundation will become firmer with the spread of education and along with the introduction of elective element in the constitution of Panchayats, for which definite proposals have been submitted for the consideration of Government.

I sit down, Sir, *by expressing my devout hope and wish that a spirit of union, co-operation and common brother-hood will pervade the deliberations of this Council and thereby promote the prosperity and well-being of all.*

Mr. I. N. Menon.—Mr. President, Sir, the general discussion of the Budget seems to have been particularly focussed on the department over which I have the misfortune to preside. One feature of the general discussion was that it brought to light one fact, that is, nothing is too large nor too small for the attention of this House. The discussion turned not merely on matters of policy or of principle, but also on details of administration

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like the management of the aided institutions under the department. Sir, as the Leader of the House has already said, it is good and salutary that we should have the opportunity of looking at ourselves, in the way in which others see us. But, Sir, in order that this kind of friendly criticism might bear fruit, it need not be unnecessarily keen or personal, and I would beg this House to allow me to completely ignore my individuality and to speak purely as a machine. Many points have been touched, many issues have been raised in the general discussion. I do not intend to speak at length, Sir, on all these points for the simple reason that more than one cut motion has been tabled on all these points—not that I have to keep my powder dry, but that whatever facts I may have to present I would reserve for a later stage in the discussion and not take up the valuable time of the House at this stage. But a few words seem to be called for with regard to some salient features, with regard to some land-marks of the administration or mal-administration of this department during the last 8 months of my humble stewardship. Some of the important points touched upon by the Hon'ble Members of this House were the policy of this department towards aided schools and their management, the extension of the College in Ernakulam, the utility of the present system of industrial education, the necessity for the continuance of special concessions and even their increase in the case of some communities, the difficulty experienced by our students in getting admission in the Technical Colleges in Madras—these, if I remember right, are some of the general points raised in the discussion. Sir, as I pointed out at first it is not my intention to enter into details. I merely try to refresh the Members of this House and myself of these issues to keep alive for Saturday.

The feature of this Department's Administration which seems to have come for the greatest share of criticism is its policy towards managers of aided institutions. If this House will permit me to correct myself I would say not towards the "managers," but rather towards the "management". A very large majority of managers are my personal friends and I am sure they themselves will not like that I should be represented as in any way hostile to them personally. Sir, I hope this correction would be accepted by those who probably had the idea that the managers were put to considerable difficulty. Sir, the most serious charge against the Education Department in its relation to the management is that a radical change of policy has taken place in the department. The complaint is that this evil is the result of a radical change. The Hon'ble Member for Adur read out some passages from the minutes of the late Sir P. Rajagopalachari when he was here as the Diwan and also from

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the minutes of Sir Albion Banerji. Sir, passages which are read from here and there are likely to mislead the House into the conclusion that Sir Albion looked upon his policy of grant-in-aid as an unmixed blessing. It is not possible for me to read out the whole of these minutes. But just to point out a matter of fact, the policy of Sir Albion Banerji, about which the Hon'ble Member cited some quotations, was bound up with a system not of free elementary education, but with a system of education where fees were to be levied, particularly in aided schools. If the House will allow me the indulgence to read just one or two lines, I would like to read them. "Of course when the State is able to take upon itself the whole burden of expenditure"—that does not mean that the whole burden should be for ever placed on the shoulders of managers; he only felt in the then financial condition of the State it was not justified in undertaking these additional burdens—"Of course when the State is able to take upon itself the burden of the whole expenditure, it may be possible by large grants to make elementary education free throughout the State".

Mr. Joseph Petta.—Is the State now in a position to take the whole burden of elementary education?

Mr. I. N. Menon.—I cannot say that all at once. All I can say is it is very unlikely. It is impossible to say what was the condition of the State as Sir Albion found it. The main reason was one of financial exigency. It is not because Sir Albion Rajkumar Banerji thought that this was an ideal under all conditions, but because it was the line of policy dictated by the then circumstances.

Sir, I simply refuse to be dragged into the question, whether all schools should be aided or state-owned, at this stage of the discussion. I simply wish to correct the impression which might have crept into the minds of the Hon'ble Members that it was the considered policy of the two Diwans that this State should on no account enlarge its sphere of activity in the field of education. They found that, in the circumstances in which the State was placed, it would be both futile and inexpedient to undertake so heavy a burden as the cost of elementary education. And, Sir, I have not in any way committed myself or the department towards a policy which would spell the taking over of all the primary schools into the hands of the Sirkar.

Now the main change of policy, therefore, must be in regard to the relations of the department to the aided school managements. As one Hon'ble Member pointed out here in the course of this morning's discussion, we on this side of the House are not ministers. We are "permanent Heads of Departments."

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We have no doubt not a curious anomaly of Parliamentary Government taking place here. We are the permanent Secretaries of the State and we are concerned mainly with the details of daily administration. Now all that can be said, Sir, is that I have no discretion whatsoever in the matter of carrying out the rules laid down by the Government from time to time. The policy of intervention or interference, as some times it has been miscalled, is the result of the course of certain tendencies which were certainly not conceived by the originators of this Education Code. What is the necessity, Sir, for this intervention? Sir, I shall be guilty of a simplicity, not above the level of infancy, if I consider every manager as equally virtuous, and I should be tainted by a malignity truly diabolical if I consider every manager as equally bad. The point is whether there is need for supervision. And, the question then, is whether there is any other body charged with the task of supervision. I pointed out in the course of the conversations with the representatives of the Managers' Association on more than one occasion that if the Association will organise itself and undertake the responsibility of keeping the members straight, the department would at once withdraw. But the Managers' Association unfortunately does not possess coercive powers like the Trade Unions. And when they are thus helpless to keep their erring members straight, the department which has not only made large commitments by way of subsidies to education but also has got the moral responsibility towards managers, to the teachers and also to the pupils cannot keep quiet and try to pretend to be indifferent. Sir, the Member for Irinjalakkuda in the course of the discussion on the budget drew attention to the fact that our rates and mode of grant are particularly favourable compared with the systems prevailing in the sister States of Travancore, Mysore and British India. I do not grudge this liberal grant to our managers. Far from it. But it is essential that all parties should realise that a grant made by the State on behalf of the tax-payer carries with it the responsibility to see that the funds are properly expended and the interests of the child in the school are properly safeguarded and that permanent members of the teaching profession are properly treated. In order to secure these diverse interests, in order to see that the child gets ample facilities, that it is not allowed to go into class rooms which are crowded, which are ill-ventilated and ill-lighted, in order to see that persons who are duly licensed and employed in the services of the schools are not sent away on purely frivolous grounds, the department, on the representation of individual teachers and of the Teachers' Association, has been forced—I say "forced" advisedly because it is against its will—

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to intervene in the internal management of aided institutions. As the Member for Mulakunnathukavu pointed out yesterday it is certainly meddlesome from the point of view of the mangement and irksome from the point of the department. We have come to this position and it is quite necessary to recognise the situation and put our heads together and find out some means of evolving a workable scheme of grants-in-aid so that peace may be permanently restored and good will may prevail in future.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—May I know is it not enough if a punishment is awarded to individual managers who are going in the wrong direction? Will it not suffice rather than punishing the managers of neighbouring schools?

Mr. I. N. Menon.— To punish individual teachers or managers we must have a law. And the law comprehends everybody. Individual managers cannot be punished except under a law, unless of course the department becomes more arbitrary and applies its own individual rules in respect of each manager.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.— You may stop the grant of a school, Sir, rather than go to the neighbouring school and meddle with its system.

Mr. I. N. Menon.—I do not quite understand the point how by punishing neighbouring schools a particular school is sought to be improved by the department.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—When a particular manager goes wrong as a result of particular individuals going wrong, you have issued, circulars that all managers should get the sanction of the department in dismissing teachers thereby bringing down the tone of the management and the discipline of schools.

Mr. I. N. Menon.—I am not a lawyer. But I do not think it is possible to punish a criminal without the assistance of a Penal Code unless we mete out justice in the old monarchical fashion, taking each case into consideration and dealing justice on the spot. It may work less hardship in certain cases; but, it seems to me impossible to work a department on that basis. My suggestion is rather, to try to do away with departmental intervention by removing the need for that. I suggest, Sir, to this House whether it is not proper that managers themselves should see that their organisations should try to keep their members straight by some form of internal discipline. I should like to place before this House one further ground for this intervention. In spite of the disclaimers and criticism we are getting more and more socialistic. We cannot help it. We had expected Government to be socialistic so much so that we

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are all conscious of at least one claim, and that is, in the ideal state a man has got simply to be born and Government will do the rest. That is the way in which our expectations and aspirations about solcialism have been going on.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—That expectation do you refer to that side of the House or to this side of the House?

Mr. I. N. Menon.—I refer to it as a universal feature. Now, Sir, the detailed control of the operations of society always involves a certain amount of regulation and regimentation. If this State prescribes conditions of labour, well, the State is to that extent compelled to see that its rules are enforced, and the necessity for intervention becomes all the greater if the State give something towards the maintenance of these conditions of labour. Now my request, Sir, is that the House would realise that the only way of doing away with this intervention is to modify the basis and extent of grant ; and then will you find intervention automatically vanishes. It is a matter which I would not, of course, press now. It is a matter which is receiving the consideration not merely of the department but of the Managers' Association, and it is hoped that with our joint efforts a satisfactory solution will be reached in which the prestige of the management, the discipline of the schools and confidence in this department will be restored.

Sir, with regard to the next big question, I beg leave of this House to preserve total silence today ; and that is with regard to the extension of the college here or the alternative, of its removal to Ramavarmapuram. My main reason, Sir, for observing silence on this question which has not merely generated light but also considerable heat is that it is a matter which requires very cool thinking and dispassionate consideration of educational values. It is one which calls not for a kind of territorial patriotism but for a wider outlook on life. Sir, I will not enter into details.

But I have the misfortune to preside over an army of underpaid teachers who are called upon to look at the spectacle of University Professors going up the ladder of preferment. Sir, this Department wants money to be expended not on establishments, not on other services, but on the service of teaching profession. And this money, according to my rough calculation, amount to approximately 4 lakhs a year if a time scale is to be substituted for the present compartmental system of promotion. No further relief is sought to be given to these teachers ; but just allow them the benefit of an incremental stage of pay and it will cost the State about 4 lakhs a year. Sir, are we to deny them this little measure of relief on the ground of other commitments? I think the Hon'ble Members who

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have tabled questions, motions and resolutions will see that I have absolutely no other interest except the interest of this Department and the interest of the tax-payer. I will not, Sir, stay longer on this point at the present stage of discussion.

With regard to another major issue raised in the course of the discussion, *viz.*, the condition of our industrial schools. I whole-heartedly agree with all that has been said by the Hon'ble Members on the other side of the House. Our industrial schools are far from being ideals of vocational training, and it is a matter known to the Government for some time. Efforts have been made and the labours of the Committee have come to a successful conclusion—a Committee on which the Planting Member also served-- and proposals are being drafted to be placed before the Government for a revision of the old system of industrial education. Although I do not wish to tax the attention of this House by a detailed statement of the programme, I wish to refer to one or two prominent features which will mark the future policy of the Government towards industrial education. Agriculture which is our staple industry has not been taught in our industrial schools, and to give the ryot a properly biased vocational education the committee has thought that the introduction of agriculture in all the rural industrial schools, particularly in its practical aspect, is essential. Another question is the provision to be made for education of a slightly higher class in regard to industrial subjects. Regarding the question of the provision for a technological school—if we cannot afford a college—the opinion of experts was called and a decision has been reached which will be placed before the Government and orders passed very soon. So, the main trouble about our industrial schools is, as pointed out by the Member for Nellayi, not left unrecognised. The industrial schools train not artisans but teachers ; and instead of relieving unemployment which is being acutely felt and which was the occasion for the introduction of vocational education, we find simply an increase in the rank and file of the unemployed. The object of industrial education has thus been frustrated by our mode of operation. But, Sir, I hold that with the revised syllabus and with the re-organization of our industrial schools and the establishment of one or two technical institutions the complaints which are now rightly made about our industrial schools will vanish.

Another point on which the opinion is certainly unanimous in point of content is the question of special concessions to communities which are educationally backward. My Hon'ble friend complained of want of sympathy from the Department towards the claims of one particular community among the

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backward classes. I feel greatly grieved, Sir, personally, because the Hon'ble Member must have been unaware of the exertions we have been making to make a better provision for the education particularly of the Moslem community and the Depressed Classes. Necessarily the wheels of Government always operate slowly. The question is being considered again in connection with the Survey under the heading, 'Needs of Special Communities and Special Tracts'.

I must add a few words about the cut motions which are tabled by my Hon'ble friend with regard to the needs of the Chittur Taluk in regard to Secondary and Primary schools. The backwardness of Chittur is no news to this Department. Special efforts have been made and instructions issued to Inspectors to appraise the Department of the real needs and excursions are going to be made by those responsible for it, to ascertain by actual examination the localities and the backward communities in Chittur Taluk and other communities which are widely dispersed over the State. Ample opportunities will be afforded to the Members concerned to place their views, to lodge their protests, if they wish to do so, during the Survey and their advice will be given every weight and their recommendation will be seriously listened to when making the recommendations to the Government. This is not the time for me to say much more on what we are going to do. Deed is better than promise. If Hon'ble Members, after the report is submitted, still feel pessimistic about the matter, it will be then time to table a cut. I would like at the same time to inform the Hon'ble Members who represent these communities in one way or other that concessions are intended to render concessions unnecessary in course of time. A concession, Sir, is in the nature of an exception. It is not strictly speaking a privilege and, therefore, it should be the aim of all communities who have claims to it and who are educationally backward to render it increasingly unnecessary. There is always a tendency for all classes, not particularly confined to the community to which I refer now, to treat concessions sometimes as privileges; and one concession thus becomes the parent of another. That should not be. I am sure Hon'ble Members will realise that a concession is, in spite of all the generosity associated with it, something undignified. For the simple reason that it is a gift and may be received with grace just as it may be given with grace, it is not something which could be continued for all time. Whatever further concessions are found to be necessary—and I have little doubt that further concessions may be necessary—will be certainly made by the department and will be included

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by the department in its proposals to be made to the Government. Though there are many other minor points about which cut motions are tabled it seems to me quite unnecessary that I should take up the time of the House at this stage. For iastance, the question of expenditure on higher education in Cochin is so closely allied to the question of the removal of the College, and I am sure it will be discussed at great length during the time of insisting upon the cut.

Then there is the need for a greater provision of funds for seats in elementary schools. That also will be considered at the time when cut motions are moved. I know all these will crop up again, and ignore them for the present.

Another point which has been urged is the separation of the Industries Department. Sir, as this Department is not responsible for the amalgamation of the two, the Hon'ble Member can realise that it cannot take the initiative for their separation. I have no idea as to why the two were amalgamated, perhaps it was due to the weariness of Government consequent on the failure of the undertakings of such industrial enterprises as the Potteries and the Tanneries. Well, the amalgamation has been of some advantage but it has to a certain extent hampered the operations of the Departments of Industries proper. But I have reason to believe that the Government is already taking up the question and in the near future I do hope that the Department of Industries will be relieved from the step-motherly treatment which it is allowed to get from the Head of another Department.

Then there is again the question of research scholarships which was pressed yesterday by the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara. It may be that the question of research scholarship was raised at the time of the budget proposals. Some scholarships were intended to be given, one, for instance, for Marine Engineering. We anticipated the requirement of the Harbour and the need to get our own men trained and ready. The Marine Engineering scholarship means at least £.300 a year, and with the restricted funds at our disposal it was not possible to include it in our estimates. But the question is not to be lost sight of, and will not be lost sight of, because it will be raised again at the time of the next budget.

Then there are minor details on which cut motions have been tabled, but it will be unnecessary and improper for me to dwell on them at this stage.

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—The discussions which I had the pleasure to listen to hitherto were all of a general character suited to the present time when every one is

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baffled by the great wave of economic depression passing over the world.

It would be idle to pretend that we, in Cochin, are not affected by the conditions and it is quite proper that Government have had occasion to effect drastic retrenchments in the expenditure of the several departments. I find that several important and highly necessary items of work had to be postponed though we are not in any way less anxious to get them done, as some of the non-official Members themselves. It was simply a question of funds and at no time for the past 7 years have I felt convinced of its truth as now.

Yet it is to our credit to be able to state that, even at such trying and difficult times, we are launching on projects having such far-reaching consequences as the Harbour and the Railway conversion. It is a familiar sight for us all now to see big ships steaming into our backwaters and it must be a source of pride for us to feel that Cochin is being recognised as an important Port of Call for steamers.

Apart from the financial success which the Harbour project is destined to attain, the indirect benefits which will be derived by the people of Cochin in diminishing unemployment and increasing material prosperity of the people are aspects which should not be ignored. They have now completed what is called the third stage of the Harbour works which means the execution of such works as will enable ocean-going steamers to enter the Harbour and discharge at moorings inside the backwaters.

Further developments of the Port and the extensions of the Railways to the reclamation area are under contemplation. I am also glad to state that proposals for constructing a bridge across the backwaters to Cochin and Mattancheri are also being considered.

Along these high schemes Government have also on hand the Hydro-Electric project. A scheme costing about 43 lakhs have been drawn up by us and is at present undergoing scrutiny in England by a firm of consulting Engineers. Whatever the reputation of Chalakkudi might have been in the past as regards industries, I may assure this House that this scheme will not fail on account of lack of proper considerations.

I am thankful to the Members for having so far left my department alone from severe criticisms and I shall be glad if they maintain the same attitude when I move my budget.

Yet a few instances have been brought to the notice of the House. The most important of them all, I consider, are the remarks on the insufficiency of allotments for irrigation.

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This House will remember the big and important schemes which were inaugurated in 1106. I refer to the Karuvannur flood protection works. The first stage of the work has been completed and the Muriyad-Moorkanad canal has been cut.

The Manapat chira work is nearing completion. The Mulathara Improvement works scheduled for this year have also been done. It would not, therefore, be correct to say, Sir, that the department is not attending to works of irrigation.

In response to the wishes expressed by the last Council, Government have sanctioned the creation of an Irrigation division in the P. W. D. This division will attend to all the major irrigation systems in the State requiring expert supervision and also undertake investigations of big projects. I am confident that this division will be able to show substantial work especially in the case of the Chalakkudi Diversion Scheme, Pothundy Reservoir Scheme and a few others.

The Member for Anthikad referred to the paucity of roads in his constituency. It cannot be denied that the question of sufficiency of roads can never end but I may state that in Cochin there are more roads per square mile than any of the other of parts India I have known. Government have now instituted a Road Board and they are preparing an exhaustive list of roads to be constructed by the Government in the State.

Sir, I do not wish to take up much time of the Council at this stage but would refer in passing, that we have fully realised the acute conditions of distress prevailing in the areas where Kole cultivation is being carried on. What the Member for Jenmies has said about the high cost of cultivation is only too true. Some method of minimising the cost of cultivation has to be devised at an early date. The Kuttadan cultivation which was introduced after construction of the new weir at Enamakkel is considerably relieving the situation as predicted by me so early as 1103 and 1104. My proposals for reduction of water level in the Kole channels are at present engaging the consideration of Government.

Regarding the Mattancheri water works it was said that there were a few cases of water stoppage in the town. The Member has hardly realised the disadvantages under which the supply is being carried on at present. During the last dry season we have been supplying at the rate of about 65,000 gallons per day with insufficient equipment and even without a spare set. With the prospects of having a bridge across the backwaters over which a pipe line could be taken, we are unwilling now to spend large amounts of money on more floating equipments which are liable to depreciate heavily.

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Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Sir, it is my experience that much that was said yesterday and is being said to-day will also be repeated when I come with the demand for General Administration. Therefore, I think it expedient rather to reserve, much of what I have to say on the details, for to-morrow.

I would first and foremost meet the main charge, so to say the main criticism, that the budget though balanced apparently is likely to end in a deficit. So far as one could foresee, I do not find any room for such pessimism. True, if the present economic depression continues unabated, there may be some fall in the Excise revenue. But barring that, I do not find any reason for any appreciable fall in any item of revenue. To counteract that, I am sure that we might get a little more than is anticipated under Customs. We have put the figures at 12½ lakhs. We expect that more petrol tanks will be put up in the near future and consequently there will be more importing of the oil, along with the greater rise in the Customs dues of the Port. Therefore, we naturally believe that whatever there may be by way of fall in the Excise revenue will be equally compensated by rise in the Customs. But both the fall as well as the increase are more or less problematical and therefore we have left the figures as they are. On the whole, Government do not think that the budget for 1107 is likely to be a deficit one at all.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Do you get a rebate on petrol?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—That is not the point at all. Every gallon of petrol imported into India carries with it a duty of 2 rupees and when that is collected by the Cochin Port Office a moiety of it will fall to our share.

Then, Sir, the much criticised surplus of the State has now done us a good service. But for that, and but for that alone, we would have had to run to the open market for a loan immediately. It is this which enables us to tide over the difficulty for the first two years 1107 and 1108. I suppose every Hon'ble Member here is quite conversant and is fully aware that the money market is very very tight and that any possibility of raising loans at the present moment cannot but be comparatively disadvantageous to the State. If we wait for a couple of years and if by that time conditions—money conditions and trade conditions—improve, we may be able to raise a loan at a much lower rate of interest. Till then the surplus that is available will help us to tide over the difficulty. In short it is our much criticised surplus that stands at a very good stead now. We can meet all our demands for the Railway conversion and

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for the Harbour in 1107 and most probably for a major part of 1108.

The second point that I would touch is about the general depression and the remedies suggested. The Hon'ble Members have been repeatedly pressing on the Government that something should be done to relieve the Kuri owners and the Kuri subscribers of their commitments. I think very good reasons and very substantial reasons have been advanced in the second of the two Proceedings, that was referred to in answer to one of the questions this morning, about the difficulty that the Government feel on the point. And I think that almost everybody feels the same difficulty in the way of a total stopping of all Kuri transactions. But the suggestion thrown first by the Hon'ble Member from Narakkal, that if a majority of the Members are agreeable to some slight alteration, why not adopt it, opens a new line of enquiry. I referred to the Travancore Chitty Regulation and I find that, though there is a provision to the above effect in their Regulation, it is also restricted by a condition viz. "subject to the provisions of this Regulation". And that Regulation has in very careful terms laid down the terms for the termination of the Kuri and other things. Therefore I doubt very much how far an application or a re-copying of the provisions of the Travancore provision, referred to by the Hon'ble Member for Narakkal, would amply meet the situation that has now to be met. Perhaps the point may be one well worth exploring and after taking further legal opinion about this, perhaps, something may be done. But I cannot commit myself to any statement. The question has taken, so to say, an altered line of discussion. And the fact that it has taken an altered line of discussion has to be noted and shall be noted by the Government.

Again a further point raised was about some appointments to be reserved in the Harbour and the Railways. The Member for Irinjalakkuda was kind enough to refer to that in his speech yesterday. As to the Railways, I find that there is very great practical difficulty in our moving in the matter. The Railway administration is practically, so to say, handed to the South Indian Railway Company on certain said conditions and I do not understand how we could reasonably ask them to give us a fixed number of appointments, or to give Cochinites a fixed number of seats, I mean, a number of places in the Cochin Shoranur line. More than this, I also anticipate another greater difficulty. The Members themselves have expressed that it was the Cochin Government's policy that, 'Cochin should be

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for the Cochinites' that raised a sort of war cry in the Madras Presidency and shut out from us all the appointments in the Presidency, that were more or less being given freely to candidates from our State. If we begin to press our claims, for our bit of Railway I do not know whether we are going to profit or lose in the end. That is a point seriously to be considered, and apart from this, for reasons already stated, I do not think we could reasonably move very strongly in the matter. Of course individual petitions, if they come, Government has been treating most liberally. They have invariably been forwarding them to the Agent, South Indian Railway, to give their all due and possible consideration. Such individual cases would continue to be well attended to. But to move in the matter for a general declaration of policy, I think it will be rather difficult. Perhaps in the case of the Harbour it is different. It is a self-contained scheme and perhaps something better may be possible to do; and I remember in one of the Port Conservancy Board meetings some of the members have already referred to it. Therefore the matter has already been taken up. I am sure it will receive due consideration at the hands of the Government. These are, Sir, some of the most important points that I could gather from the general discussion; and I shall close my talk with a few more observations on some of the individual budget heads.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Can you give us some information about the Round Table Conference?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—The only information that I could give is that it has not been decided exactly who will be our representative for the next Round Table Conference. This matter is still under correspondence.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Are you going to have an advisor?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Oh, yes. I answered by way of question that Diwan Bahadur Ragaviah was the advisor for the last Conference. So far as the details of the next Conference are concerned, no final decision has been arrived at.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—What we want is what he has done or what he has to do for us.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—What he means to do for us is certainly to press all the special points that, from the point of view of Cochin, may require attention at the Conference. In other words the fact that this is a maritime State with a Port and that it has its own maritime revenue will be strongly pressed. Also other points, if any, which may not be common to all the States and which may require greater attention at the Conference, so that ultimately difficulties may not crop up at the later stages, will require most of his attention. On the general questions he

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will have as much voice as any body else; and with the directions that the Durbar will give him, he will be able to do full justice to our cause.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Perhaps the Government instructed him on special points.

RamaV armha Tampuran.—As I told you, the personnel has not been fixed.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Was he given special instructions?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Special instructions are being prepared and as soon as the personnel is fixed, on every point detailed instructions will be given to him.

Well, Sir, next year is certainly rather a hard year for the Government; but all that the Government could do, by way of cutting down expenditure under the several heads, was mainly to lay the axe on the Public Works Department Budget, because in Education we are more or less committed to our expense and we cannot vary the items as we please. The mojority goes as grants or as pay to the teachers and there is no way of effecting a decrease in them. The only variable item of expenditure which could be easily touched or, so to say, which might with comparative ease be dealt with is the Public Works budget; and I may assure the House that the pains that the Durbar has taken to find out proper figures which could accommodate both with the receipts in total and also with comparative utility on the several items of work has been very very hard. Four or five times preparatory figures had to be prepared and to be revised until we arrived at the totals that we present now. What I submit is that only after the most elaborate consideration have the present figures been arrived at and wherever possible, works which have been already taken up have been given some provision or other so that they may be soon completed.

The other head that I should like to refer particularly is the Medical budget. You will find, Sir, that under that, there has been considerably liberal allotments this year for supply of medicine and dietary charges, so that the general complaint that rural dispensaries are starved for want of supply may, if not done away with, at least to a great extent, be minimised.

Also another feature which I should like to bring to the notice of the House is the very good work that the Leper Asylum at Adur has been doing. It has in no way created any doubtful feeling in the mass of people; and the poor suffering patients have only been too glad to avail of the opportunities offered by the Asylum, so much so that the Government has now decided to open also Taluk Leper Dispensaries so that people who need

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not stop in the Asylum may be treated as out-patients in the Taluk Dispensaries. Towards this an amount of three thousand rupees has also been allotted.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—Did the Hon'ble Member mean that the masses of people living around the Leper Asylum has not manifested any sense of doubt?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—That is not at all what I mean. When the question of handing over the charge was considered, there were strong references to the advisibility about that. What I now say is that the management has amply justified itself and that there has been no complaint at all about any thing of the kind.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—May I know whether the patients of the Leper Asylum are Cochinites?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—I think so.

From that, I pass on to the Panchayats. In the Panchayats, one of the Members mentioned that there has been a cut in the allotments. I don't think that it is a fact. On the other hand though we have not been able to make a larger provision as we would have liked to do, there has been after all only an increase in the allotment as compared with last year.

Mr. P. S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—Contributions to the Village Panchayats!

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—The Member will find that it is in no way less. The fact that the total provision for 1106 is slightly higher than the same for 1107, I would explain, is misleading. Because I remember this point was raised by the Hon'be Member for Mulakunnathukavu at the Standing Finance Committee and I had occasion to refer to the point and answer him. I might distinctly say that in the Panchayat Budget there has been no cut at all. There is in fact only a greater provision for next year. The higher figure in the budget of 1106 is because of the part provision to pay for some of the demands of 1105. Though in the D. P. W. some items had to be cut down, in the Panchayat the Government has made it doubly sure that no cut on account of retrenchment is made. Well, Sir, these are the only details which I would refer to this evening. The rest I would reserve as I explained in the opening of my speech for to-morrow.

Mr. K. Mohamed Seethi.—With regard to the Round Table Conference, may I know whether the Government have any idea to take the non-official public opinion?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—So far as I could answer now, I don't think the Government have any such intention at present.

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Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—Sir, the leader of the House as well as those on this side who spoke before me have already dealt with all the points raised by Hon'ble Members so that I have no particular point to dwell upon. I take the opportunity for thanking them for the various valuable suggestions that they have made.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Will the Hon'ble the Finance Member kindly refer to page 7 of his speech, paragraph 18:—"A serious endeavour has been made to reduce the grant under travelling allowance and contingencies"? May I know whether the serious endeavour refer both to travelling allowance and contingencies or is it only to one?

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—Rules are being framed for travelling allowance particularly and contingencies will also be looked into along with that.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Has it been reduced or attempt is made to reduce? The phraseology is "serious endeavour has been made to reduce".

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—An attempt has been made to reduce.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—To what extent has it been reduced?

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—Endeavour is made to reduce it.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Then one word also. With regard to 125 lakhs, may I know how you arrived at that figure? One item is 37 and the second is 68 and the third, if I remember correctly, is 43. The three together will make up 148. Is that true?

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—37, 68 and a few lakhs will make not less than 125. I have stated not less than 125. It is a rough figure.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—In the Proceedings of the Finance Committee it is stated that the pay of the Professors had to be increased because the University Commission insisted upon it. May I know what is the nature of the insistence? Has the University issued any order for the increase in their pay?

Mr. I. N. Menon.—The University recommended certain scales of pay. They gradually began to press forward the insistence.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—What is the nature of the insistence? Is there any order issued? University has not issued any order. My information is the University Commission Report is still pending before the Academic Council and the Syndicate has not passed any order on the same. In view of that I don't think

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there is any reason why, when it has not been followed by many of the Colleges of the Presidency, it should be followed here. The University Commission Report is only pending before the Academic Council and the authorities have not passed any final order with regard to the point of increasing the pay of the Professors.

Mr. I. N. Menon.—This is not the first University Commission Report. They have insisted always that the salaries of the Professors should be raised. If we refuse to do it, they will take some drastic measures.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—Except there has been some recommendation, has there been any specific order given?

Mr. I. N. Menon.—I don't think the University is discourteous as to issue an order to the Government.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—The University gives specific intimation that if such and such numbers are admitted the affiliation will be taken away. Has any such intimation been given? Is it only a recommendation that the pay *may be*?

Mr. I. N. Menon.—It is not a question of the pay may be, it is one of the conditions on which the affiliation has been given to the College.

Mr. Joseph Petta.—How is it that the fact was not taken in the deliberations of the Finance Committee?

President.—The Hon'ble Member may raise these questions when the Educational Budget is being discussed.

President's Remarks on the Budget Discusssion.

President.—Hon'ble Members:—before I adjourn the Council for the day, I should like to make a few remarks on the Budget and the discussion upon it.

One of the most important points raised during the debate was the question of the future of Responsible Government in the State. (*Hear, hear.*) Several Hon'ble Members, including the Leader of the Progressive Party and the Hon'ble Deputy President, referred to it in their speeches. I repeat what I have said before, that the subject has been receiving and will continue to receive the very anxious consideration of the Government. (*Hear, hear.*) A step forward has already been taken and His Highness the Maharaja has appointed as the Deputy President, the Hon'ble Member selected by the House forthat important office. (*Hear, hear.*)

These constitutional questions, and the decisions taken upon them, must exercise a very considerable influence for good or ill on the future of the State, and it is essential for their satisfactory solution that clear thinking and a clear appraisal of the

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